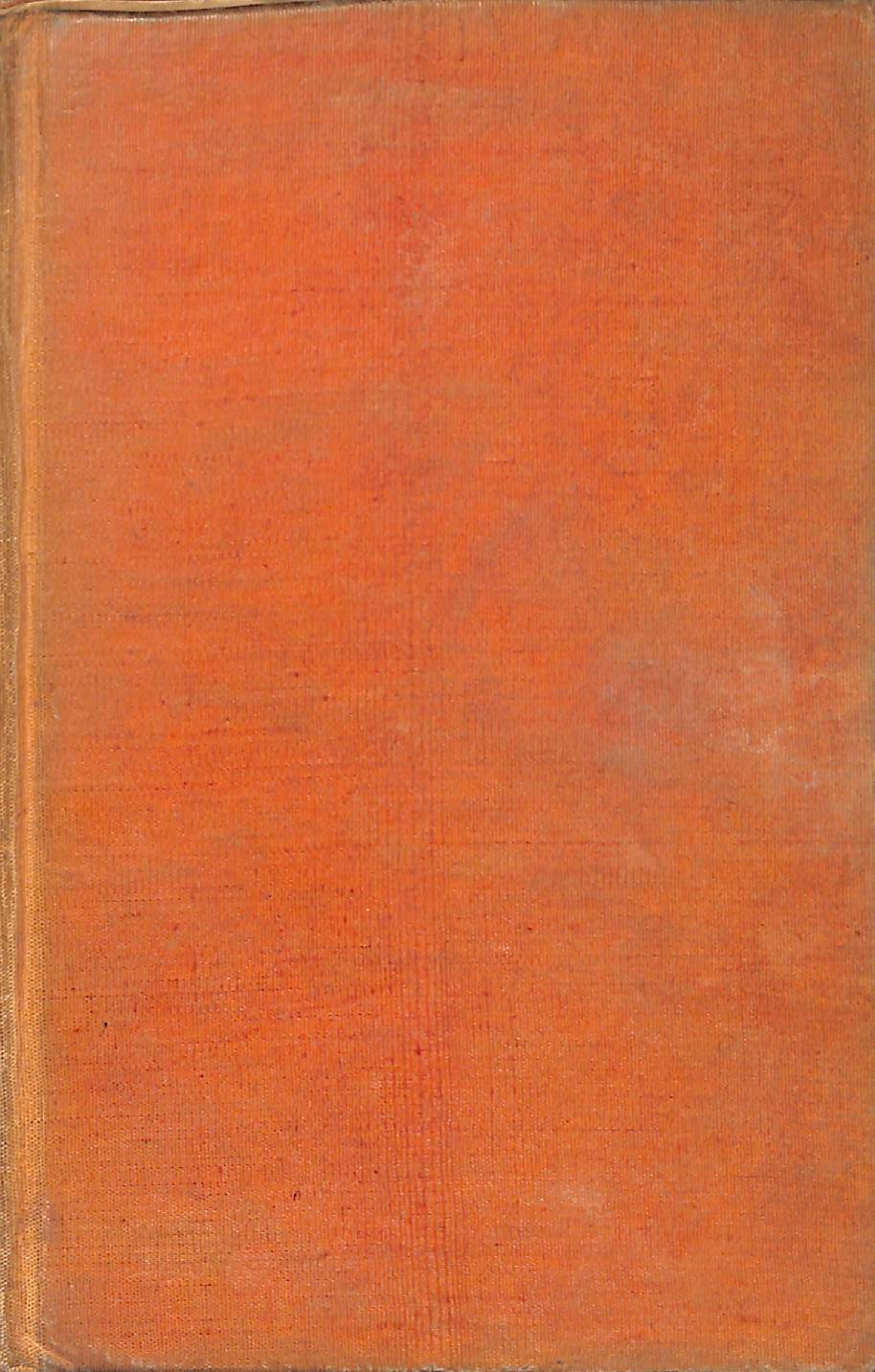




A HISTORY OF MUSLIM RULE IN KASHMIR

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A HISTORY OF MUSLIM RULE IN KASHMIR 1320-1819

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PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE
DELHI AHMEDABAD BOMBAY

August 1969 (P237)

Price: Rs. 40.00

Printed by D. P. Sinha, New Age Printing Press, Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi 55 and published by him for People's Publishing House (P) Ltd., Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi 55. Editor: M. B. Rao

TO THE MEMORY

OF

SULTAN ZAIN-UL-ABIDEN

PREFACE

After Sir Wolesley Haig no scholar has explored further the sources of the history of Muslim rule in Kashmir, although therein lies the key to form a correct appraisal of modern Kashmir. I was fascinated by the subject from my student days, but I did not apply my hands to the plough due to pressure of official duties. I must confess that there was a good element of timidity also. Here my meeting with the late Dr. Zakir Husain, President of India, proved a great turning-point. It is due to his inspiration and encouragement that I undertook a systematic study of the subject as a student of the Allahabad University. In 1948, I was awarded the degree of Doctor of Philosophy for the thesis, 'Kashmir from Shah Mir to Shahjahan'.

While at Allahabad, the India-Pakistan conflict in 1947 brought me into close contact with Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, that mighty statesman and intellectual and the noblest Kashmiri. As he was in a crippled state, I read out my thesis to him, word by word. He was happy and delighted. He advised me to continue my researches and cover the entire period of Muslim rule in Kashmir.

In the preparation of this study I have utilised all the available primary sources—archaeological, numismatic, epigraphical and literary.

In what has proved to be the work of a life time, my greatest debt is due to my respected teacher, Dr. Tara Chand, who has been the beacon light in all my academic pursuits. Besides, I can never repay the debt of deep gratitude for all the affection he has showered on me all these years. I am equally indebted to Professor Muhammad Habib, Professor Emeritus, Aligarh Muslim University, for his uniform encouragement. In particular, I am grateful to him for his guidance to present the history of the independent sultans of Kashmir in the proper perspective.

I would like to take the occasion to express my gratitude to my other friends who have helped me in this study. Prof. Suryakanta Sastri of the office of the directorate of research, Jammu & Kashmir government, helped me by translating relevant passages of the chronicles of Jonaraja, Srivara, Suka and Prajabhata, etc. Hafiz Ahmed Ullah, *munshi fazil* and *maulavi alim*, late of the state education department, Srinagar, Kashmir, helped me to explore Muhammadan *ziarats* and graveyards in Srinagar and also assisted me in deciphering Arabic and Persian epigraphs. It has helped me immensely to put the chronological and genealogical details of the sultans of Kashmir on a firm basis. Dr. Nazir-ul-Islam (now in West Pakistan) helped me in consulting certain German works relevant to the subject. My friend, Muhammad Amin Mahjoor, also of the directorate of research, Jammu & Kashmir government, offered me some valuable suggestions. I am also obliged for their courtesy and assistance to the staff of the India Office Library, London, Research and Public Library, Srinagar (Kashmir), Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta, Punjab University Library, Lahore (Pakistan), Raza Library, Rampur, and the Allahabad University Library.

Before I conclude, I may state that with me the study of Kashmir history has not been merely an academic pursuit, but an act of faith. In the past the people of Kashmir were misunderstood and maligned for their independent attitudes and secular outlook by communal-minded people and western political adventurers and expansionists. If this study helps in dissipating suspicion, removing misconceptions and stimulating further study of the subject, I would consider myself amply rewarded.

National Archives of India
Janpath, New Delhi
15 August 1969

R. K. PARMU

FOREWORD

KASHMIR HAS BEEN FOR THE PERSIAN poet his dream, the vision of beauty. For the Mughal emperor it was the land of pleasure, for those in search of the bounties of nature its exquisite and abundant manifestation, and for the weary in spirit and the troubled in mind or body, a haven of peace.

The poet sang,

Agar firdaus bar rue Zamin ast
Hami ast o-hami ast o-hami ast.

(If there is a paradise on earth it is here, it is here, it is here !)

Unfortunately, this is only a part of the story—the story of Kashmir's sunlit summer, of bright days, intoxicating nights, green swards, abundant foliage, running waters rippling over slippery stones, of gentle breezes wafting scents, of gardens stocked with trees whose branches bend under the weight of luscious fruits and glowing with flowers whose variety of colour and form is a perpetual surprise and a joy for ever.

But there is the other part. It is the part of which the long winter months constitute the gloomy plot. For the Kashmiri peasant, artisan or labourer it is a period of cruel deprivation and of unrewarding blistering toil. The sun scatters its pale and cold rays on his fields, the long chilly nights force him to huddle round a fire which emits more smoke than heat. The skies are grey, and sleet and snow lash his humble hut. The trees stand gaunt and bare, the flowers are dead, and the icy winds whistle through lanes of trees and houses making his body shiver.

Such are the contradictions of nature and they are reflected in the story of man. There are in Kashmir's history periods of high endeavour and considerable achievements, of conquest and glory, of good government and prosperity

of the people, of moral exaltation and spiritual aspirations; but they are comparatively few and far between. There are unfortunately longer periods of decadence, hateful violence, barbarous cruelty, treachery, supineness and cowardice of beastly men and licentious women. Their dismal record puts humanity to shame.

Dr. Parmu has told only a part of the long story, the middle part, which covers the years between the end of the Hindu rule and the conquest of Kashmir by Ranjit Singh—an interval of five centuries, 1320 to 1819.

He has based his story on facts culled from all available sources—archaeological, numismatic, epigraphic, Sanskrit and persian chronicles, travellers' accounts, and British records.

It is a work in the compilation of which much labour and time have gone. It is on the whole an objective and critical narrative. The work is not likely to be superseded for many years. Dr. Parmu has distributed praise and blame without prejudice; praise is given where praise is due and what is blameworthy has not been spared or excused. Sikandar, 'the idol-breaker,' receives fair treatment which seeks to modify the harsh judgement of previous historians. His successor, Zain-ul-Abiden, who reversed Sikandar's policies and applied the healing balm to the oppressed and lacerated Hindu subjects, and who established security, peace and prosperity in the realm, is deservedly the hero of the author. He justly showers encomia on the personality, policies and achievements of the great monarch. He describes in great detail the system of administration which he developed, the arts and crafts he promoted and the works of public welfare which he executed. Under the warmth of his benevolent rule music, arts and poetry flourished and Hindus and Muslims lived in harmony and peace.

But darkness descended upon this fair scene with the accession of his son, Haidar Shah, to the throne. He and kings, Hasan Shah, Muhammad Shah, Fateh Shah, and their powerful but mutually jealous ministers and advisers inaugurated a regime of ever-growing gloom and ferocious

tyranny—the age of gangsters. Their hand fell mercilessly upon their Hindu subjects who were forced to accept Islam and in case of refusal put to the sword. The end of tyranny came at last with the overthrow of the dynasty and the annexation of Kashmir to the Mughal empire by Akbar. The short interlude before the Mughal occupation was filled by Mirza Haidar Dughlat's adventure and the rule of the Chaks who were pursued by misfortunes partly of their own making and partly imposed by ambitious relations and enemies.

In 1586 Kashmir's independence was extinguished. With its loss Kashmir ceased to be the master of its own destiny. The identity of the rulers and the ruled disappeared. All zest of life seemed to have been quenched. The only alternative before the chiefs, who through the centuries had indulged in suicidal intrigues and played with unholy zest the destructive game of gangsters knocking one another down, was either to cringe for favours upon the conqueror or to raise ineffective sporadic revolts predestined to failure—sycophancy or rebellion.

The Mughal rule under the great emperors, Akbar, Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb, was moderately successful. They gave to the country orderly government, provided impetus to arts and crafts, improved agriculture, erected splendid monuments, built useful canals and bridges, laid out gardens, planted rows of trees and brought to the country a measure of prosperity. But all the planning and the execution were done by the alien imperial officials and the Kashmiri talent was denied all opportunity of expression. The last fifty years after Aurangzeb were those of rapid decline. Kashmir again became a prey to disorder and anarchy.

The Kashmiris invited Ahmad Shah Abdali to intervene. The Afghans less efficient in administration than the Mughals were more considerate in employing Kashmiris as governors and officers. But their internecine conflicts compelled them to relax their hold. Then some short-sighted chiefs sought Ranjit Singh's aid in fulfilling their ambitions.

The lion of the Punjab was not the one who would draw other people's chestnuts from a raging fire. The confusion in Kashmir was a god-sent chance and he fully exploited it. In 1819, 'the paradise on earth' became an annexe of Ranjit Singh's kingdom. It was transferred to the British empire when Sikh rule vanished from the Punjab.

The story of Kashmir brings forcibly to mind the story of another country similarly situated, *viz.* Switzerland of Europe. In area Kashmir is more than five times as large, but in population two-thirds of Switzerland. Both have a climate which is bracing, mountains which cradle liberty, life-giving springs and streams, rich fertile soil. Both are devoid of mineral wealth more or less. Both are far from the sea and both are surrounded by warlike neighbours. But what a world of difference between them. Switzerland is free, rich and progressive; Kashmir has been fated since the sixteenth century to live in misery—downtrodden, poverty-stricken, backward. Inscrutable are the ways of man. History may tell the story, but can it unravel the tangled skein of his life?

TARA CHAND

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ERRATA

Page 11, line 1, read *Ghazi* for *Yusuf*
Page 33, line 2, read *1320* for *1319*
Page 64, vi, read *Sangramarajya* for *Samgramaraja*
Page 93, footnote 13, line 4, last word, read 2 for *6*
Page 128, line 13, read *Narayan Kaul* for *namely*
Page 155, last but one line, read *Hirapur* for *Tirapur*
Page 166, last line, read *Muhammad* for *Mahmud*
Page 213, line 5, read *that* for *than*
Page 214, line 17, read *Western* for *Eastern*
Page 223, footnote 64, line 3, read *Manasbal* for *Banasbal*
Page 228, footnote 84(iii), read *Skardu* for *Skard*
Page 242, footnote 9, read *f. 122* for *f. 118*
Page 257, line 20, read *sergeant* for *servant*
Page 284, line 12, read *1592* for *1492*
Page 341, footnote 147, line 5, read *Zeb-un-Nisa* for *Zeb-un-Niza*
Page 379, line 19, read *1814* for *1914*
Page 390, line 13, read *disgruntled* for *disgrunted*
Page 409, last but one line, read *Saffron* for *Suffron*
Page 445, fourth line from bottom, read *Abdul Hamid* for *Abul Hamid*
Also read *Hijri* for *Hijra* and *Abul Barakat* for *Abu Barakat*

چارہ جُویاں را نمی دادیم صائبؔ دردِ سر
دردہائے کہنۂ ہم را دوا بودیم ما
(صائبؔ)

Introduction

MUSLIM RULE IN KASHMIR lasted for five centuries—1320 to 1819. In 1819 Kashmir came under the rule of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the mighty ruler of the Punjab. Under Muslim rule Kashmir experienced three types of rulers, namely, (1) the Independent Sultans (1320-1586), (2) the Mughals (1586-1753) and (3) the Pathans (1753-1819).

Owing to the increasing preoccupations of Aurangzeb and his weak successors with Indian problems and the invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali, Kashmir remained cut off and in a very disturbed state until 1753, when Ahmad Shah Abdali annexed her to his kingdom of Kabul. The Pathan governors held Kashmir in their ruthless grip. Kashmiris suffered politically, economically and culturally to such an extent that they were compelled to seek Maharaja Ranjit Singh's assistance to rid them of the turbulent Pathans. The Maharaja defeated the last Pathan ruler Jabbar Khan, and annexed Kashmir in 1819.

I

THE SOURCES OF STUDY

While attempting to indicate the indigenous sources available for the study of the history of Kashmir, Mirza Haidar Dughlat in a moment of exasperation remarked that in spite of the fame of Kashmir as one of the most celebrated countries of the world, 'no one knows anything about its present state, nor can any one of its features or history be learned from the books of the former writers'.[1] That this impression was both hasty and fallacious has been shown by the results of the labours which Sir Aurel Stein

1. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, (E&R), p. 426

and his forerunner Dr. George Buhler[2] bestowed on the *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana. To quote Dr. Stein, 'Kashmir can claim the distinction of being the only region of India which possesses an uninterrupted series of written records of its history, going back beyond the period of the Muhammadan conquest, and deserving the name of real chronicles.'[3] This statement amply brings out the historical importance of the Sanskrit chronicles which remained beyond the ken of Mirza Haidar Dughlat.

II

SANSKRIT CHRONICLES

Before making a survey of the leading Sanskrit chronicles it appears in the fitness of things to refer to the semi-historical works of Damodara Gupta, the Prime Minister of King Jayapida (c. 755-86 A.D.) and Ksemendra, the great polyhistor, who flourished in the middle of the eleventh century. The former wrote *Kuttanimatam*, and amongst the latter's works, those relevant to our purpose, are *Desopadesa, Narmala* and *Lokaprakasa*, which were composed in the second and third quarters of the eleventh century. They constitute an important landmark in the field of general literature. And as far as the study of the sociological trends before the establishment of Islam is concerned, all the three works are indispensable.

(i) *Kuttanimatam*: It is a didactic poem. It is in the form of advice tendered to a prince by a *kuttani* or procuress. She tells him how to escape the wiles of a corrupt woman. Apparently sexual vices seem to have degraded society. The society and home of an average Kashmiri were influenced by the *kuttani* to such an extent that to this day her exploits survive in the degraded popular expression,

2. 'Detailed Report of a tour in search of Sanskrit Mss': Extra number of the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay, 1877, pp. 52 sq

3. Lawrence, *Valley of Kashmir*, p. 179

pha pha kuttan. And Damodara Gupta attempted to root out the evil not by legislation but by educating public opinion. There is an excellent edition of the text of *Kuttanimatam* by Tarasukh Ram Manasukh Ram Tripathi.[4]

(ii) *Desopadesa* and *Narmala* similarly illuminate the social and administrative life of the people of Kashmir under Hindu rule. In *Desopadesa*, Ksemendra depicts the life and character of *khala* (villain), *kadarya* (miser), prostitute, *kuttani* (procuress), old man marrying a young girl, and foreign students receiving instructions in the *maths*, etc. *Narmala* may be treated as an addendum to *Desopadesa*. It describes the character of the kayasthas or the official community. In fact, the kayasthas, by their unsocial activities, vicious conduct and unspeakable cruelties, had become a disgraceful element of the society. Both *Desopadesa* and *Narmala* are ably edited by Pandit Madsudhan Kaul Sastri.[5]

(iii) *Lokaprakasa*: This monumental work is an encyclopaedia, a dictionary and a practical handbook, all in one, dealing with mainly sociological, economic and administrative subjects. The author (Ksemendra) mentions the names of the administrative units (*parganas*) of his time and also enumerates specifications of bonds, hundis and social contracts in vogue in his time. Originally composed in the eleventh century, many additions and alterations seem to have been made in it up to the end of the reign of Shahjahan. There is a manuscript of this work in the Srinagar Research Library. We are grateful to Professor A. Weber for publishing valuable excerpts from this work in the *Indische Studien*.[6] But a descriptive and critical edition, particularly by a Kashmiri Sanskritist will, undoubtedly, throw a flood of light on the social, economic and administrative conditions of Kashmir from the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries.

4. *Kuttanimatam*, edited with commentary by Tarasukh Ram Manasukh Ram Tripathi, Bombay, 1924
5. See Kashmir Research Department Publications, Srinagar
6. Volume xviii, pp. 289-412

(iv) *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana: Kalhana should rightly be designated as the Herodotus of Kashmir, indeed of India. His *Rajatarangini* is the only available political history of Kashmir up to 1148. The author's great merit lies in his humility. Nowhere does he claim originality in the preparation of this monumental work. He frankly acknowledges his debt to the labours of his predecessors. He describes his work as an endeavour 'to give a connected account where the narrative of past events has become fragmentary in many respects'. He made a thorough study of inscriptions, written texts, popular traditions, etc. to prepare it.

No history of Kashmir is complete without a thorough study of the *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana as a background. Fortunately, we possess two excellent English translations, one by Dr. Sir Aurel Stein and the other by Ranjit Singh Pandit. But the scholarly introduction, excellent commentary and copious notes, accompanying Dr. Stein's admirable edition, render his work unique and indispensable.

III

CONTEMPORARY SANSKRIT CHRONICLES

(i) *Rajatarangini* of Jonaraja: It is the earliest contemporary chronicle composed during the reign of the independent sultans of Kashmir. Jonaraja was a learned Brahman and one of the judicial advisers of Sultan Zain-ul-Abiden (1420-70). He wrote in continuation of the *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana, and brought down the narrative to the year 1459. He tells us that he composed his work at the express order of the Sultan who, he says, was anxious that the long gap in the history of Kashmir should be filled. Jonaraja, it appears, had scanty material to construct his narrative. He frankly confesses that his work is 'only an outline of the history of kings'.[7] Beyond mentioning the names of the Hindu kings who succeeded Jayasimha (1128-55), the last king mentioned by Kalhana, Jonaraja does

7. Jonaraja (Dutt's translation), pp. 2-3

not throw any light on the life and condition of the people inhabiting the valley before the Muslim rule was established in 1320; nor does he enlighten us on the causes which were responsible for the downfall of Hindu sovereignty. However, the value of the chronicle increases as the narrative approaches the author's own time. Even so it cannot stand any comparison with Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*.

A scholar of considerable attainments, Jonaraja lacks application, originality and freshness. He could have painted the picture of the contemporary period, at least, on a much larger canvas. Unlike Kalhana, it appears, he did not perform the job for the love of it. His besetting defect is that he generally puts the poet above the chronicler and distorts the narrative. Nor does he display a spirit of inquiry and research. He omits to mention his sources. Does it mean that all that could help him expand his narrative for the period 1149 to 1300 had been destroyed or was non-existent? In fairness to him, however, it may be pointed out that he pays particular attention to chronology. Occasionally he mentions both *Laukika* (*Saptarshi*) and *Saka* dates. His topographical notices are fairly accurate and valuable. He died in 1459.

We possess two[8] texts of Jonaraja's chronicle, the Calcutta edition of 1835, and the Bombay edition of 1896.

(ii) *Jaina-Rajatarangini*: But Jonaraja's pupil Pandit Srivara does not manifest the drawbacks of his guru. Srivara wielded great influence with Sultan Zain-ul-Abiden. He was one of his trusted friends.[9] He continued to enjoy royal patronage during the reign of Haidar Shah (1470-72) as well as Hasan Shah (1472-84). He acted as Hasan Shah's teacher while he was a prince. He was an excellent musician and acted as Director of Music in the reign of Hasan Shah.

Jaina-Rajatarangini was commenced by Srivara after

8. Jonaraja (text), Peterson's edition, Bombay 1896; Jonaraja (text), Calcutta edition, 1835 (it is incomplete)

9. Srivara (Dutt's translation), p. 165 sq

the death of Jonaraja, in the last decade of Sultan Zain-ul-Abiden's reign, and was dedicated to the Sultan. Srivara tells us that he received various benefits, gifts of wealth and of land from the king, who brought him up 'like his son'.[10] And he undertook to write the chronicle, 'partly to free myself from the endless obligation to him and partly because I am attracted by his merits'.[11] Evidently, therefore, Srivara does not appear to have undertaken the work at the bidding of the Sultan. While narrating the events of the reign of Hasan Shah, Srivara states, 'I have witnessed the prosperity, the misfortunes and the death of kings with my own eyes and remembered the events.'[12]

Jaina-Rajatarangini is a history of less than 30 years (1459-86). It is exhaustive, comprising 238 pages in translation (Dutt's translation), whereas the chronicle of Jonaraja, which is a narrative of about 300 years, covers only 97 pages. Dr. Stein,[13] who studied the chronicle in order to fix the ancient topography of Kashmir, accuses the author of betraying ignorance of the ancient names of well-known localities. Perhaps Dr. Stein failed to take into account the time-factor. In the first place, Srivara did not compose his narrative exclusively for the Sanskritists but for the learned,[14] who included Hindus as well as Muslims. Secondly, when Sanskrit had ceased to be the official language, the names of ancient sites must naturally have got gradually distorted and to a considerable extent mixed up with vulgar expressions.

(iii) *Rajavalipatika* of Prajabhatta and Suka: Srivara's chronicle was continued by Prajabhatta under the name of *Rajavalipatika*. It deals with the history of 27 years[15] (1486-1513) only. The author found it impossible to continue the narrative 'owing to the tumult in the kingdom and on ac-

10. *Ibid.*, p. 99
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*, p. 206
13. *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana (Stein's translation and edition), II, p. 373
14. Srivara, *op. cit.*, p. 206
15. Suka (Dutt's translation), p. 338

count of the fear of the wicked'.[16] Such conditions lasted until 1586 when Akbar annexed Kashmir to his empire. After about ten years, in 1598, Suka, another Brahman chronicler, took upon himself this task 'not because I felt a desire to become a poet but to lighten my mind of the mass of accounts of bygone kings'.[17] He commenced his narrative from 1513 where Prajabhatta suddenly stopped; but he retained the title given by Prajabhatta to his work.

Prajabhatta's narrative of 27 years has, unfortunately, been lost. Suka refers to it in the introduction of his work. He, however, summarises the events of these 27 years in 50 verses only. He wrote almost eighty-five years after Prajabhatta. His sources evidently appear to have been scanty. He sweeps through the narrative in a disorderly, haphazard and unchronological order. What is more, unfortunately, his chronicle suffers from several lacunae. The first gap we come across is the period from the ascendency of Mir Shams-ud-din Iraqi (1453) to the conclusion of the treaty with the Kashgharis (1533). The second gap is the period 1541-46, when Mirza Haidar Dughlat, behaving like a thorough communalist and sectarian, killed or annihilated all those who did not profess his faith. Nor does Suka tell us how Mirza Haidar obtained Kashmir in 1540. Another great defect which Suka's chronicle manifests is his utter ignorance of ancient sites. Dr. Stein[18] designates the joint narratives of Prajabhatta and Suka as the 'fourth chronicle'. But I have mentioned them, for purposes of reference, as Suka's chronicle, because Prajabhatta's chronicle, by itself, is non-existent.

The chronicles of Jonaraja, Srivara and Suka have been translated into English by Jogesh Chandra Dutt. In all probability, he appears to have prepared the translation with the assistance of his learned brother Dr. Romesh Chandra Dutt, who wrote an excellent 'Essay on the History of

16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana, *op. cit.*, I, xxviii; II, p. 374

Kashmira'.[19] Jogesh Chandra's English version of the *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana first appeared from Calcutta between 1879-87, in two volumes, under the title of *Kings of Kashmira.* In 1898 he brought out the English versions of the three chronicles of Jonaraja, Srivara and Suka, in one volume, from the same place and under the same title.[20]

Jogesh Chandra prepared the English translation of the chronicles of Jonaraja, Srivara and Suka exclusively from the corrupt text of the Calcutta edition of 1835. Then he did not make use of the local sources of information, topography, traditions, institutions, etc. As such, his translations of these chronicles are not independently very helpful for a critical study of the history of the period, 1149-1586.

IV

PERSIAN SOURCES

The indigenous Persian chronicles of Kashmir consist of the *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by Mulla Shah Muhammad Shahabadi, *Baharistan-i-Shahi, Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik, Tarikh-i-Narayan Kaul, Waqiat-i-Kashmir* by Muhammad Azam, *Mukhtasar Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by Birbal Kachru, *Gulzar-i-Kashmir* by Dewan Kirpa Ram, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by Maulavi Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Kabir-i-Kashmir* by Haji Mohi-ud-din Miskin and *Tarikh-i-Jadwali* of Maulavi Saif-ud-din. Unlike local Sanskrit chronicles, written after Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*, each of these *tarikhs* starts from the legendary origin of Kashmir, like Kalhana's.

(i) *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by Mulla Shah Muhammad Shahabadi: The association of Shahabad with the name of the author helps us to identify him as a Kashmiri who belonged to Shahabad, also called Dur, in Anantnag district, which lies to the south-east of the valley. Mulla Shah Muhammad was a learned man. By order of Akbar he had

19. *Calcutta Review*, July 1880
20. Dutt, J. C., *Kings of Kashmira*, III, S. K. Shaw, Calcutta, 1898

translated the *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana into Persian. But his translation does not seem to have been found satisfactory. Akbar then asked Abdul Qadir al-Badauni to rewrite it in easy Persian. Badauni completed the work in two months.[21]

I have consulted two manuscripts of this work, one belonging to the India Office Library, and the other to the Raza Library, Rampur. The India Office[22] fragment is an incomplete copy. So is the case with the British Museum[23] copy. The translator's name occurs nowhere in the fragment of the India Office. But Dr. Ethe confidently states that its author is 'undoubtedly the same Mulla Shah Muhammad who translated the work from the Sanskrit original by order of Akbar, in A.H. 998'[24] (1591). The India Office fragment has got inadvertently bound up with other Persian Mss. with which it has no relevance.

When we compare this translation with the original text of Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*, we find that the translation is just a summary and not a faithful reproduction of the text. But it is in very simple Persian. Secondly, the name of the site in the neighbourhood of Bahramgul, on the Pir Panjal mountain from where the cruel Hun king, Mihirakula, had thrown one hundred elephants into the gorge below in order to amuse himself with their groaning, is mentioned in this fragment as Hastivatr, which place Dr. Stein[25] identified as *Hastivanj*. Thirdly, the names of well-known localities have not been reproduced in their original Sanskrit form in which they occur in the *Rajatarangini*, but in their vulgar form by which they are remembered to this

21. Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* (text), II, p. 374; (translation by Lowe), p. 386; Blochmann (*Ain-i-Akbari*), p. 106; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, V, p. 478

22. Ethe, *Catalogue of Persian Mss. in India Office Library*, I, No. 508

23. Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian Mss. in the British Museum*, I, No. 1879; p. 296

24. Ethe, *op. cit.*, I, p. 202

25. Stein, *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana, Book I, sloka 302 and note; II, p. 394

day. Fourthly, the 'Damaras', who were a very refractory feudal community during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, are mentioned as 'Dangar'.

The fragment in the Raza Library[26], Rampur, is catalogued as '*Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by Mulla Shah Muhammad Shahabadi', which is incorrect. It is not a copy of the fragment in the India Office Library or the British Museum. As a matter of fact, Mulla Shah Muhammad's translation, as is evident from the fragments in the India Office Library and the British Museum,[27] does not go beyond 1149, when Kalhana had ceased to write. But the Rampur fragment continues the narrative even beyond the reign of Emperor Bahadur Shah.

On the other hand, if we compare the Rampur fragment with the *Tarikhs* of Kashmir, we find that it is a verbatim copy of the *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* of Pandit Narayan Kaul Ajiz, which was composed in A.H. 1120 (1710), at the instance of Arif Khan, the deputy-governor.

(ii) *Baharistan-i-Shahi*: This work is by far the most valuable history of Kashmir in Persian for the period commencing from the earliest times to the year A.H. 1035 (1625). It was commenced in A.H. 1023 (1614) and completed in A.H. 1035 (1625). Unfortunately, however, the author has concealed his identity. But a thorough study and indirect evidence reveal that, in all likelihood, he must have been a learned and influential non-Kashmiri Shia or Nurbakhshiya, who seems to have travelled extensively through the length and breadth of the valley and had familiarised himself with its topography. He alone mentions the events which caused the death in Bihar of the exiled Yusuf Shah Chak and of his son Yaqub Chak, the last two independent sultans. He bestows lavish praise on Shams-ud-din Iraqi, the great Shia-Nurbakhshiya missionary. He appears to have been a protege of Saiyid Abul-Maali, who caused great unrest and civil strife in Kashmir during the

26. Manuscript No. 122
27. Rieu, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 298-99; Ethe, *op. cit*. I. No. 511, p. 203

closing years of the reign of Yusuf Shah Chak. He mentions the name of his contemporary Haidar Malik Chadura, whereas the *Baharistan-i-Shahi* is mentioned, among Persian chroniclers of Kashmir, by Maulavi Hasan Shah only.

Baharistan-i-Shahi fills the gaps which we come across in the Sanskrit chronicles of Prajabhatta and Suka for the periods 1486-1505, and 1537-57. The narrative becomes vigorous and comprehensive from A.H. 986 (1579) onwards. *Baharistan-i-Shahi* is the only contemporary chronicle which deals at length with the activities of Shams-ud-din Iraqi. What is of greater importance, the author occasionally mentions both *Hijra* and *Laukika* dates side by side, although he mentions the *Laukika* era by the name of *Sana-i-Kashmiri*.

I have made use of the fragment in the Indian Office Library.

(iii) *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by Haidar Malik Chadura: If the author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* preferred to remain anonymous, it was otherwise with his contemporary Haidar Malik of Chadura.

Haidar Malik was a resident of village Chadura (Kashmiri: *Tsodur*) in the Nagam pargana, at a distance of ten miles to the south of Srinagar, in the neighbourhood of the village Vahthor. He was appointed *Rais-ul-mulk* by Jahangir. His ancestors were Rajputs belonging to the 'Chand' (rect: Raina) family. Originally they had come to Kashmir from Trigarta (modern Kangra) in the closing years of the reign of Jayasimha (1128-55), in the wake of their adventurous leader Mala Chand. Haidar Malik was the son of Kamal-ud-din Malik Muhammad Naji. He was an orthodox Shia.

Both Haidar Malik and his father appear to have been in the service of Sultan Yusuf Shah Chak. They were so much devoted to him that they followed him into exile to Bihar in 1586. Here they served him faithfully for 24 years. During this period both father and son engaged themselves in several successful missions for their master. But

the turning-point in the career of Haidar Malik was the Sher Afgan incident in Burdwan where Aiba Chak, another exiled Kashmiri knight-errant, was killed. Haidar Malik and his brother, Ali Malik, protected and sheltered Mihr-un-Nisa Begum, who was destined to become the famous Empress Nur Jahan, against all dangers. In appreciation of his bravery and loyalty, Haidar Malik was, in due course, warmly recommended by her to Jahangir. The emperor bestowed upon him the coveted titles of *Chaghatai* and *Rais-ul-Mulk* and allowed him to return to Kashmir, his birth-place. Thereafter he wielded great influence both with Jahangir and Nur Jahan.[28]

Haidar Malik appears to have been an architect and a builder also. While in Kashmir, Jahangir employed him to lay out a canal from the Sind river to irrigate the Nur Afza[29] garden. Next he was appointed to construct the waterfall and the stream at Vernag. In 1627, Shahjahan appointed him superintendent of buildings to be erected around the Vernag spring.

Haider Malik's history of Kashmir is a valuable document for the period 1586-1627. The striking features of this work are: graphic description of places like Shahabuddinpur, Divasar, Lar, Tolamula, Amarnath cave, Ich, Hokarsar, etc., and description of the Kishtwar campaign.

But as far as the narrative of earlier period is concerned it is diffused, exaggerated and occasionally undependable. I have consulted the two fragments, one in the Research Library, Srinagar, and the other in the Public Library, Srinagar. The Research Library fragment is a recent copy, but the latter is much older.

28. *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik* (Ms.), pp. 119-20. (Haidar Malik gives a lucid account of his engagement with Sher Afgan, and rescue of Nur Jahan)

29. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* (R&B's translation), II, p. 238

V

LATER INDIGENOUS PERSIAN TARIKHS

(i) *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by Narayan Kaul: Pandit Narayan Kaul, pen-name *Ajiz*, belonged to the post-Aurangzeb period. He appears to have been a steady and sober chronicler and a scholar of Persian. His style is simple and readable. After Suka, Pandit Narayan Kaul revived Hindu tradition of historiography after a gap of about a century. His *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* is the first available Persian chronicle compiled by a Kashmiri Brahman in A.H. 1112 (1710).

Narayan Kaul's narrative is comprehensive; it is based on Sanskrit chronicles and the *Tarikh* of Haidar Malik. It forms a valuable supplement to our earlier written sources, especially for the history of the independent sultans of Kashmir. Unfortunately, however, the narrative closes with the annexation of Kashmir by Akbar in 1586. Thereafter the author bungles with both history and chronology and abruptly changes his approach to the subject. What is more, he mentions the *Hijra* dates only. Nevertheless, his attempt is a great improvement upon the work of Haidar Malik. He describes graphically the events leading to the defection of Yusuf Shah Chak, the story of Yaqub Shah's freedom struggle against the Mughals, and the Yadgar episode.

A copy of this fragment is available in the Raza Library, Rampur, where it has been wrongly catalogued. Copies of this *Tarikh* are also available in the British Museum[30] and the India Office. I have consulted the fragment in the Public Library, Srinagar.

(ii) *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*: Muhammad Azam, son of Khair-uz-Zaman Khan of Diddamar, Srinagar, commenced his work in A.H. 1148 (1738) and completed it in A.H. 1160[31] (1747). In addition to political history he describes the growth of religious consciousness, sociological trends and literary activities of the Kashmiri Muslims. His main

30. Rieu, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 298-99; Ethe, *op. cit.*, I, p. 203, No. 511
31. Rieu, *Ibid.*, I, pp. 300-1; Ethe, *Ibid.*, I, p. 204

sources of information, he says, were the *Rajatarangini*, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, *Tarikh-i-Mulla Hasan Qari*, *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, 'some Hindu *Tarikh*' (meaning perhaps the *Tarikh-i-Narayan Kaul*), and *Tarikh-i-Firishta*. In all likelihood, he had also made use of the *Zafarnama* of Sharaf-ud-din and *Asrar-ul-Abrar* of Daud Mishkati.

Waqiat-i-Kashmir alone, among the earlier group of indigenous Persian chronicles, has been published. There is also an Urdu translation[32] of the section dealing with political history. I have consulted the printed edition, the translated Urdu edition, and the fragment available in the Allahabad University Library which is a faithful manuscript copy of the printed edition.

(iii) *Mukhtasar Tarikh-i-Kashmir*: Pandit Birbal Kachru, the author, was by far a very learned Kashmiri Brahman, who traced his descent to the distinguished family of the Brahman savants of Rainawari, Srinagar. He commenced his work in 1835 during the Sikh rule.

A study of this work reveals that under the Sikhs the Kashmiri Hindus had once more begun to enjoy official favours and religious freedom after a very long time. Pandit Birbal Kachru's chronicle is a fearless description of the traditions, social customs and political life of the Hindus of Kashmir. But at places he makes exaggerated and unhistoric statements.

Birbal Kachru mentions *Bikrami* dates side by side with *Hijra* dates. Like his predecessors he also starts his narrative from early times. He states that Kashmir relapsed into a long period of tyranny and tribulation after enjoying peace and prosperity under Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan.

His *Mukhtasar Tarikh-i-Kashmir* has so far not reached the British Museum and the India Office Library. But in Srinagar there are two fragments available in the Public Library and the Research Library. I have also come across a copy in the Punjab University Library, Lahore (Pakistan).

32. *Tarikh-i-Azami*, Mahammadi Press, Lahore, A.H. 1303; Urdu translation by Munshi Ali, Delhi Madrasa, Delhi, 1846

I have consulted all the three fragments, but my references are based on the fragment in the Public Library, Srinagar.

(iv) *Gulzar-i-Kashmir* and *Gulab Nama*: The auhor, Dewan Kirpa Ram, was a learned Persian scholar and a distinguished statesman belonging to the well-known family of the Dewans of Jammu. He acted for some time as Prime Minister of Maharaja Ranbir Singh (1857-85), the second Dogra Maharaja of Kashmir. He wrote his *Gulzar-i-Kashmir* as an addendum to his more exhaustive, stupendous and remarkably trustworthy work, *Gulab Nama*. *Gulab Nama* is in Persian and narrates the exploits of Maharaja Gulab Singh, the first Dogra ruler of Kashmir (1846-57). Professor K. M. Panikkar depended to a large extent on this work for his *Ghulab Singh, Founder of Kashmir*.

Gulzar-i-Kashmir is a summary of the history of Kashmir as told by its own historians. But it is replete with inaccuracies and defective chronology. Even so, Major Jarrett depended upon this work for his *Chronology of the Sultans of Kashmir*.[33] Both *Gulzar-i-Kashmir* and *Gulab Nama* are published.

(v) *Tarikh-i-Hasan*: Amongst the indigenous Persian *Tarikhs* of Kashmir, Maulavi Hasan's three stupendous volumes are by far the most comprehensive and detailed. He has succeeded in keeping both Hindu and Muslim viewpoints in their proper balance. He narrates his history fearlessly, and acquaints us with certain causes and effects which his predecessors had suppressed. His work is a remarkable encyclopaedia of topographical, social, cultural and political history of Kashmir. It forms an unbiased and detailed supplement to *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*.

Tarikh-i-Hasan, too, has so far not found its place among the collections in the British Museum and the India Office Library. All the three volumes are available in the Research Library, Srinagar. Volume I deals with geographical features and topography; volume II narrates the development of Muslim cultural and religious movements; and volume III

33. *JASB*, 1880(i), p. 16 sq

describes the political history of Kashmir from the desiccation of the valley up to 1898.

This monumental work needs to be edited with introduction and notes, which it is hoped, will prove of great advantage for the compilation of an up-to-date history of Kashmir. A fairly good start has already been made on the third volume (Political History) which has been translated by Maulavi Muhammad Ibrahim, and published by Ghulam Muhammad, Nur Muhammad, booksellers, and printed at the Koh-i-Noor Press, Srinagar, in 1957. It is a verbatim translation and I have depended on this translation for the period dealing with the later Mughals and Pathan rulers of Kashmir.

Maulavi Hasan[34] was a reputed Kashmiri chronicler and a deep scholar of Muslim theology. He was born in A.H. 1248 (1832), when his country formed a province of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's kingdom of the Punjab. He was born in Gamru, a village at a distance of one mile from Bandipur (Kashmir). He was a *pir* by birth. But his seventh ancestor was a Kashmiri Brahman, Pandit Ganesh Kaul, who had accepted Islam under the name of Shaikh Ghazi-ud-din. The latter's eldest son, Shaikh Yaqub, was a distinguished scholar and had direct access to Emperor Shahjahan. Though a man of letters, Hasan earned his living as a physician (*hakim*), and he practised *hikmat* right till the closing years of his life. Besides the *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, Hasan also wrote *Gulistan-i-Ikhlaq*, *Kharita-i-Asrar*, and *Aijaz-i-Gariba*. He died in A.H. 1316 (1898).

(vi) *Tarikh-i-Kabir-i-Kashmir*: Haji Mohi-ud-din, the author, was a Kashmiri who lived in Mohalla Saraibal, in Srinagar. He was a younger contemporary of Maulavi Hasan. He wrote his history in A.H. 1310 (1892). It was published[35] in 1894. This work is a running summary in one handy volume of political, religious and literary history of Kashmir. In the introduction the author enumerates a

34. For a detailed account of his life, see *JASB*, 1910, pp. 195-96
35. *Tarikh-i-Kabir-i-Kashmir*, Suraj Prakash Press, Amritsar, A.H. 1312

comprehensive bibliography out of which nine important works are worthy of our notice: (i) *Nur Nama* (or *Rishi Nama*) by Nasib-ud-din, (ii) *Jawahar-ul-Manaqab* by Shaikh Nur-ud-din Badakhshani, (iii) *Dastur-us-Salikin* by Yaqub Sarfi, (iv) *Asrar-ul-Abrar* by Baba Daud Mishkati, (v) *Maqamat* of Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi Kashmiri, (vi) *Rauzat-ul-Islam* by Shaikh Sharaf-ud-din, (vii) *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by Shah Muhammad Shahabadi, (viii) *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, and (ix) *Waqiat-i-Kashmir* by Muhammad Azam.

VI

RELIGIOUS LITERATURE

As a result of the labours bestowed on the expansion of Islam by the great missionaries, Saiyid Ali Hamadani, Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani, Mir Shams-ud-din Iraqi and Khwaja Khawand Mahmud and hundreds of their disciples in Kashmir, Hindu religion and Hindu literature received a terrific setback. In order to ascertain the extent of this influence, particularly the impact of Sufism on indigenous religion and culture, our main source of information is the *Vakyas* (sayings) of Laldad, the Brahman *yogini* (saint) and a contemporary of Saiyid Ali Hamadani. We possess an excellent text and translation of these *Vakyas* by Sir George Grierson and Dr. Barnett.[36] The work of Sir Richard Temple,[37] particularly his critical 'introduction' to the English version of these *Vakyas*, is equally valuable.

A younger contemporary of Laldad, Shaikh Nur-ud-din of Cherar-i-Sharif, the celebrated founder of the *Rishi* order in Kashmir, also uttered his *Vakyas*. They were collected under the title *Nur Nama*. Unfortunately, all his sayings have not been collected and published. A Persian version of most of these sayings is available in the *Tazkira-i-Mashaikh-i-Kashmir* by Nasib Kashmiri, who was a contemporary of

36. *Lala Vakyani*, Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1920
37. *Lalla, The Prophetess*, Cambridge, 1924

the Chaks. His work deals with the Muslim saints of Kashmir, who flourished from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries. A copy[38] of this work is available in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. Daud Mishkati also included some of the 'Sayings' of Shaikh Nur-ud-din in his valuable work, the *Asrar-ul-Abrar*.

Saiyid Ali Hamadani, popularly remembered in Kashmir as *Shah-i-Hamadan*, composed the *Zakhirat-ul-Maluk* and *Gayat-ul-Makan*. He does not make any mention of Kashmir in these two works. Nevertheless, there is ample evidence which acquaints us with the methods which he recommended for the general propagation of Islam. I have depended on the fragments in the Raza Library, Rampur.

Saiyid Ali Hamadani's son and successor, Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani's *Waqf Nama*[39] of the Khanqah Maula Mosque and estate is one of the earliest extant documents which throws light on the attitudes and interests of a great Muslim missionary for the spread of Islam and protection of Muslim interests in Kashmir.

Asrar-ul-Abrar: The author, Daud Mishkati, was a learned Kashmiri and a contemporary of the later Chaks. *Asrar-ul-Abrar* is a biographical dictionary of Kashmiri Muslim saints and Sufis. Daud Mishkati died in A.H. 1097 (1686). I have depended on the fragment in the Research Library, Srinagar.

VII

NON-KASHMIRI PERSIAN CHRONICLES

For constructing a history of the independent Sultans of Kashmir there is a paucity of contemporary Persian chronicles. With the exception of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* of Mirza

38. *Catalogue of Asiatic Society, Bengal*, Persian Manuscripts, no. 260E

39. I obtained a photostat copy of this document from the Gracey Museum, Islamia Intermediate College, Etawah (UP), now called the Etawah College, for which I am grateful to my friend and colleague, Rahm Ali-Al-Hashmi, of Aligarh (see Appendix-D)

Haidar Dughlat, the chronicles, which include Kashmir before her annexation to the dominion of the great Akbar, are secondary. Some are based on the notices of travellers, while some are reproductions of the Sanskrit chronicles of Kashmir. Excluding *Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Ain-i-Akbari, Akbar Nama*, and *Tarikh-i-Firishta* (*Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi*) each of which contains a fairly long chapter on the political history of Kashmir, from the establishment of Muhammadan sovereignty up to her annexation by Akbar, other works give only sporadic and desultory notices dealing with the topography or politics of the country.

(i) *Pre-Mughal Persian Chronicles*: The earlier available Muslim notices regarding Kashmir are contained in Al-Masudi's *Muruj-al-Dhahab* and Alberuni's *Kitab-ul-Hind*. Al-Masudi (941-43) lays emphasis on the geographical position of Kashmir. He says that in his time it was a powerful kingdom, comprising sixty to seventy thousand towns and villages. Alberuni, on the other hand, has left more valuable notices. He was present at the campaign of Lohkot (1015-21) launched by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni. The occasion afforded him ample opportunities of establishing contacts with some Kashmiris and of knowing the state of the country from them. He has left a first-hand vivid account of (i) the political divisions of the south-western mighty mountain mass which separates the Kashmir valley from the Punjab; (ii) pedestrian habits of the Kashmiris; (iii) conveyances used by the Kashmiri nobles; and (iv) climate of Kashmir.

I have used the English translations of *Muruj-ul-Dhahab* and *Kitab-ul-Hind* by Sprenger and Sachau respectively.

Amongst the later works mention may be made of *Malfuzat-i-Timuri, Zafarnama, Tarikh-i-Firozshahi, Tarikh-i-Daudi* and *Makhzan-i-Afghani.*

Both *Malfuzat-i-Timuri* and *Zafarnama* give a vivid description of the geographical position of Kashmir which appears to have been mainly responsible for the freedom of the country from the ravages of Mahmud of Ghazni and Timur. But Timur invaded Jammu, ravaged it mercilessly,

and gave a terrific shock to the Dogra culture.

There is an excellent and trustworthy fragment of the *Malfuzat-i-Timuri* by Muhammad Afzal Bukhari in the Raza Library, Rampur, which I have made use of. So far as the *Zafarnama* is concerned, I have depended on the Calcutta edition.

In the *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi* of Zia Barni, we come across a solitary reference dealing with the aggressive designs of Sultan Shahab-ud-din of Kashmir who caused fright to the Raja of Nagarkot (Kangra) as well as Sultan Firoz Shah of Delhi. *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, on the other hand, is more helpful. It mentions the events which led to the death of Haibat Khan Niazi, better known as Azam Humayun, while he was fighting against Kashmir, and the policy adopted by Mirza Haidar Dughlat to save Kashmir from the projected invasion of Islam Shah Sur.

Better by far and of considerable historical value and interest is the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* of Mirza Haidar Dughlat. It is an authoritative history of the Mughals of Central Asia by a contemporary. Mirza Haidar completed his stupendous work in the salubrious climate of Kashmir. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* is indispensable for the study of the history of Kashmir for the period, 1420-1540, particularly. Mirza Haidar describes as an eye-witness the geographical position of Kashmir, its 'wonders' (Hindu temples and ancient sites), Muhammadan kings who ruled before 1532, the religious conditions of the people, his campaign of 1532 on behalf of Sultan Said Khan of Kashghar, and his ten-year (1540-50) regime.

While narrating the political history Mirza Haidar mentions only the names of the Muslim kings who ruled Kashmir before him. But he devotes ample space and attention to the reign of Zain-ul-Abiden (1420-70). Unfortunately, he does not acquaint us with the social and economic conditions of the people as he found them.

I have consulted the English translation of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* by Sir Denison Ross. I have also made full use of the Persian manuscripts belonging to the Punjab University

Library, Lahore (Pakistan), and the Research Library, Srinagar. A close study of these manuscripts reveals that Sir Denison's translation is incomplete. Very likely, either he left out certain passages untranslated intentionally, or that his copy of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* which he translated into English was incomplete.

(ii) *Mughal Histories*: Once Kashmir was annexed by the great Akbar in 1586, both the emperor and his historians began to take increasingly deep interest in the study of her history and culture. In addition to the *Ain-i-Akbari*, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* and *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, we have *Akbar Nama*, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* and *Majalis-ul-Muminin*, which were written in the reign of Akbar and contain comprehensive information about Kashmir. The *Ain-i-Akbari* details the revenue system of Kashmir as it existed before the annexation, and how it was reorganised by the ill-fated Qazi Ali and after him by Asaf Khan. Abul Fazl also acquaints us with the *pargana-bandi*, the revenue assessment and the strength of the militia maintained in each pargana. Nor does he omit to describe, as fully as possible, the wonderful sites, fruits, flowers and food crops as well as social and religious conditions of the people. In the *Akbar Nama* he supplies detailed information relating to the political history of Kashmir from 1551 to 1597. But while dealing with 'the kings of Kashmir' prior of 1586, in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, Abul Fazl, somehow, manifests great hurry as he treats the subject summarily.

On the other hand, Nizam-ud-din Ahmad performs his job with precision. Comparing the chapter on the kings of Kashmir in the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* with its counterpart in the Sanskrit chronicles of Kashmir, we find that, in the main, the two agree. But the glaring drawbacks of his work, however, are wrong chronology and incorrect names of persons and places. In all likelihood, they appear to be only clerical errors.

Firishta, a devout panegyrist of Nizam-ud-din, reproduces almost verbatim the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, as far as his

chapter on Kashmir history is concerned. But Col. Brigg's English version of the *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, so far as Kashmir portion is concerned, is very defective. The great drawback with Brigg's version, apart from incorrect proper names, is the association of fantastic interpretations with certain historical events. C. J. Rodger's English version of Firishta[40] also suffers from this defect, but his numismatic researches, it has to be admitted, render his work both laudable and indispensable for the study of the chronology and genealogy of the sultans of Kashmir.

Badauni in his *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* acquaints us with different interpretations of certain persons and events. In particular, he draws our attention to the life of Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi Kashmiri, who was a friend of his and played a leading role in the occupation of Kashmir by Akbar. I have depended on the Calcutta edition of the text of *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* and its English translation by Ranking, Lowe and Haig.

Then a close study of Kashmir, as described in the *Majalis-ul-Muminin* by Qazi Nur Ullah Shustri, is fruitful in several respects. The Qazi came to Kashmir in 1587-88, in order to assist Qazi Ali in the reorganisation of the revenue system. He was a Shia, and his official position afforded him a very suitable opportunity to study the religious condition of the people which, it appears, he found to be the only subject of his interest in Kashmir. He had left a biographical note on Saiyid Muhammad Nur Bakhsh, the founder of the Nurbakhshiya order. According to him Saiyid Muhammad Nur Bakhsh was a follower of Saiyid Ali Hamadani, whereas Saiyid Ali Hamadani is mostly revered by the Sunnis of Kashmir. He also acquaints us, very briefly though, with the political and religious position of the Shia community in Kashmir, and he tells us that in his time Kashmiri women were bought and sold. Then he adds that the number of Hindus living in Kashmir in his time was quite large. I have depended on the copy edited by Al-Haj Mulla Amin Tehrani

40. *JASB*, 1885

(Tehran, A.H. 1299), which is available in the Punjab University Library, Lahore (Pakistan).

For the reign of Jahangir, we have his own memoirs entitled *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, to which Mutamad Khan added *Iqbal Nama-Jahangiri*. Jahangir was the only Mughal emperor who found exceeding interest in Kashmir and paid several visits to the valley. He studied the country and the people closely, and recorded his views on the sociological and economic conditions and gardens and topography of Kashmir. He has also mentioned the great plague and fire of 1617-19 and the conquest of Kishtwar (1618).

For the reign of Shahjahan, my main sources of information have been *Badshah Nama* of Qazwini, *Badshah Nama* of Abdul Hamid Lahori and *Amal-i-Saleh* of Muhammad Saleh Kumbu. For Qazwini, I have depended on the fragment in the Asfiya Library, Hyderabad, and for Lahori and Kumbu, I have depended on the Calcutta editions.

Then there is the *Dabistan-al-Mazahab*, an exceedingly splendid and unbiased history of contemporary Indian culture. The author tells us that in the reign of Shahjahan, Saivism was in vogue in Kashmir, and he mentions some prominent Saivite *gurus*, whom he met during his visits to the valley. But the author of this monumental and precious work has, for reasons best known to him, remained anonymous although it is alleged that he was the famous Mohsin Fani. In this connection we should, however, note that he paid many visits to the valley and that he was a versatile scholar, an authority on contemporary religions and possessed admirable secular attitudes. Evidently, these qualities preclude Mohsin Fani as the author. Shea and Troyer's English translation done in 1898 is an excellent performance. I have consulted this translation as well as the Bombay edition of the text, published in 1846.

For the post-Shahjahan period our main source materials consist of the *Alamgir Nama, Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri, Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* and *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*.

The authors of these works, among other things, devote a chapter to the political history of Kashmir under the

sultans which are summaries of the narratives of their predecessors. But in the *Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri*, we come across certain important attitudes of Aurangzeb towards Kashmir, especially after 1663 when he paid his first and last visit to the valley.

Then there is the *Rajdarshani*, which is a history of the Jammu rajas from the earliest times up to 1846, when Kashmir became part of the dominion of Maharaja Gulab Singh. The author, Ganesh Das Bhadrah,[41] appears to have been the officer in charge of the Maharaja's *Daftar-i-Dewani*, and had compiled his history at the Maharaja's order. His sources of information are Muhammadan chronicles, traditions preserved by native bards, and the list of kings preserved by certain Brahman families of Jammu. Written about the middle of the nineteenth century, the *Rajdarshani* (also called *Tarikh-i-Rajgan-i-Jammu*) also describes certain past events when Kashmir and Jammu were two independent states. But the narrative, on the whole, is undependable, unhistorical and biased. I have consulted the fragment belonging to the India Office Library.[42]

VIII

EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS

The first European known to have visited Kashmir was Father Jerome Xavier, a Portuguese. He visited Kashmir in 1597 along with emperor Akbar. He has left some vivid recollections of the natural beauty of the valley, its climate and difficulties of transport and communication. What is very striking is his first-hand account of the miseries suffered by Kashmiris as a result of the famine of 1596 when, he says, they bartered away their children for food. Father Jerome's *Letter* is printed in full by Oramus, and its English version by Payne is available in the *Jesuit*

41. Rieu, *op. cit.*, I, p. 955
42. Ethe, *op. cit.*, I, No. 507

Missions to the Great Akbar (Broadway Series). Long before Payne, Beveridge summarised extracts of the *Letter* under the title 'Father Jerome Xavier'.[43]

The second and more inquisitive European traveller to Kashmir was the well-known Dr. Francois Bernier. He visited Kashmir in 1663, along with the cavalcade of emperor Aurangzeb. His *Letters* on the 'Paradise of the Indies' contain valuable information describing Aurangzeb's journey to Kashmir, its 'wonders', natural beauty, Mughal gardens and physical features of the Kashmiris.

In 1783 Kashmir was visited by the daring traveller George Forster. In his *book, Journey from Bengal to St. Petersburgh*, he describes the state of tyranny that prevailed in Kashmir under the Pathan rulers.

With the beginning of the nineteenth century European travellers and geographers began to take greater interest in Kashmir, as a result of the increasing Anglo-Russian tension in Central Asia and Russia's projected schemes upon India. Between the years 1819 and 1835, Moorcroft, Vigne, Baron von Hugel, Dr. Henderson and Victor Jacquemont were the well-known visitors. With the exception of Dr. Henderson, each of them has left exhaustive accounts of Kashmir, especially relating to the political and social conditions of the people, and the natural beauty and strategic importance of the country. After reading Vigne's account we can say with a fair amount of accuracy that what he did not mention about Kashmir was not worth knowing at his time by a European. But the most exhaustive and original account of certain aspects of the people and government of Kashmir which Hugel has described in a masterly way in his stupendous work, *Kashmir Und des Reich den Siek*, is very valuable for the study of the early nineteenth century history of Kashmir. The entire text is still in German, although certain excerpts have been rendered into English by Major Jervis. I have made use of the original text as well as Jervis's translation.

43. See *JRAS*, 1885

IX

SPECIAL WORKS ON KASHMIR

(i) *European*: As far as the material on Kashmir left by European Indologists, etc. is concerned, we begin with Dr. Horace Hayman Wilson's excellent 'Essay on the Hindu History of Kashmir'.[44] Perhaps the earliest available scientific guide to the study and interpretation of the *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana, Wilson's 'Essay', helps us considerably to make a critical appraisal of the social and political background of the people of Kashmir before she became a Muslim state.

Wilson was followed by Col. D. J. F. Newell, who wrote in 1854 a 'Sketch of the Muhammadan History of Kashmir'.[45] Newell simply reproduced an English translation of the *Waqiat-i-Kashmir* of Muhammad Azam. The same may be said of his *Rishis of Kashmir*[46] which is also an English version of the corresponding chapter of Azam's history.

C. J. Rodgers's *Muhammadan Sultans of Kashmir*[47] is an English version of the chapter on Kashmir in the *Tarikh-i-Firishta*. But his very valuable contribution consists of his numismatic researches on the coins of the sultans of Kashmir, which considerably help us to fix the chronology of that period.

Sir Wolesley Haig's *Muhammadan Sultans of Kashmir*[48] is based on the narratives of Abul Fazl, Nizam-ud-din and Firishta. Though he fully utilised these sources his work remains incomplete. His conclusions, particularly as regards the names of persons and places, chronology of kings and events, and the causes and effects of wars, etc., are very confusing and misleading. Later on he attempted to revise the chronology of the sultans with the help of the numismatic researches of Rodgers, in his essay, 'Chro-

44. *Asiatic Researches*, XV, 1825
45. *JASB*, 1854
46. *Ibid.*, 1870
47. *Ibid.*, 1885
48. *Cambridge History of India*, III, Chapter xii

nology and Genealogy of the Sultans of Kashmir'.[49] But since all the coins of all the sultans are not still available, Haig had therefore ever often to draw conclusions which contravene the evidence we come across in the contemporary Sanskrit chronicles and the *Baharistan-i-Shahi.* Besides none of the local fundamental written sources of information—Sanskrit and Persian—were consulted by Haig.

We have also the benefit of the investigations of Federick Drew, Major Biddulph and Captain Knight. Drew remained in the service of Maharaja Ranbir Singh (1858-85), as Wazir Wazarat Ladakh. He made a thorough study of the geological and geographical situation of the valley, which he included in his valuable book, *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, published in 1875. Major Biddulph made an on-the-spot racial study of the inhabitants of the Gilgit region, and his remarkable work, *Tribes of the Hindookoosh*, published in 1880, traces the origin and characteristics of the Nurbakhshiyas residing in this part of the country. But Knight's investigations are wholly political. As a British officer on special duty in Gilgit he studied the strategical position of the valley vis-a-vis Afghanistan and Russia, and incorporated his matter-of-fact analysis in his book entitled, *Where Three Empires Meet*, published in 1905.

Next we come to Sir Walter R. Lawrence. He was Settlement Commissioner of Kashmir during 1889-95. In this capacity he was able to tour the valley extensively and make a thorough study of the people in the villages who are the true custodians of ancient culture and traditions. Lawrence collected his information in his excellent work, *The Valley of Kashmir*, which may justly be called an encyclopaedia of Kashmir. It is the best available work giving a general description of Kashmir—politics, people, religion and social conditons, etc. While his chapter on the archaeology of Kashmir is a reproduction of the

49. *JRAS*, 1918

monumental work of General Sir Alexander Cunningham, the chapters dealing with the 'Races and Tribes', 'Industries and Occupation' and 'The New Settlement' are most valuable and based on factual evidence.

(ii) *Indian*: The first local Kashmiri who directed his energies and assiduity to the study of Kashmir history before the World War I was the late Pandit Anand Kaul Bamzai, sometime President, Srinagar Municipality. His contributions on the various aspects of the history of Kashmir are worthy of notice. He relied wholly on indigenous Persian *Tarikhs* and local legends, but did not compare their accounts with contemporary Sanskrit chronicles. Evidently, he cannot be regarded an all-round safe and dependable authority.

Pandit Anand Kaul was followed by his younger contemporary, Pandit Ram Chandra Kak. Ram Chandra Kak had received ample training in the field of archaeology under Sir John Marshall. As Superintendent of Archaeology in Kashmir, he conducted excavations at the Buddhist sites at Harwan, Maru-Wardwan and Bhimbar. In his excellent work on Maru-Wardwan, he has shown that the hill-state of Kishtwar was, in the eleventh century, part of Kashmir. But as far as Muhammadan sites and tombs and their epigraphy are concerned, he showed no interest. His note on the coins of the kings of Kashmir, in the *Handbook of the Archaeological and Numismatic Sections of Srinagar Museum*, is a reproduction of the meritorious researches of Rodgers. For his chapter on the political history of Kashmir,[50] he seems to have depended entirely on Brigg's Firishta. His *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir* is a short but excellent general history and guide-book.

In 1925, Dr. G. M. D. Sufi, then Registrar, Delhi University, published his book *Islamic Culture in Kashmir*.[51] Originally he had submitted this work as his thesis for the doctorate degree of the Allahabad University, which was

50. *Journal of Indian History*, and reproduced in his *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*

51. Army Press, Simla, 1925

not awarded. Unfortunately, Dr. Sufi depended on flimsy and not wholly dependable sources, mainly Brigg's *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik* and Azam's *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*. And he put his full trust on the works of Pandit Anand Kaul Bamzai and Muhammad-ud-din Fauq, as independent authorities, in preference to the works of Abul Fazl and Nizam-ud-din Ahmad and other Mughal historians. Then he entirely ignored contemporary Sanskrit and Persian chronicles and epigraphic and numismatic evidences. But his *Kashir* is a great improvement; we shall deal with it subsequently.

(iii) *Architecture*: For a close and deep study of the various aspects of Kashmiri architecture, our main sources, by and large, are the scholarly works of General Sir Alexander Cunningham,[52] Rev. W. C. Cowie,[53] Lieut. H. H. Cole,[54] James Fergusson,[55] W. H. Nicholls,[56] Sir John Marshall[57] and Ram Chandra Kak.[58]

(iv) *Chronology*: While discussing the chronology of the Muhammadan kings of Kashmir, Dr. Stanley Lane-Poole remarked: 'The list of the kings of Kashmir should follow here; but their chronology is so uncertain that an accurate table can hardly be constructed.'[59] C. J. Rodgers, an authority on Muslim numismatics, stated: 'The coins of Kashmir are not of much value, as I have shown elsewhere, for the assistance they render in fixing the chronology.'[60] Then Sir Wolesley Haig, apparently in a state of helplessness, remarked: 'Still I make an attempt with slender materials at my disposal to solve some of the difficulties of

52. Arian Order of Architecture in Kashmir, *JASB*, 1848
53. *JASB*, 1866
54. *Ibid.*, 1868
55. *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 1899
56. *Archaeological Survey Reports*, 1905-7
57. *Note on the Archaeological Work in Kashmir*, 1908
58. *Antiquities of Maru-Wardwan* (Kashmir Archaeological Series), 1924
59. *Catalogue of the Coins of the Muhammadan States of India*, XVII, p. 68; *Muhammadan Dynasties*, p. 311
60. *JASB*, 1896, p. 225

this interesting question.'[61] But he was not able to solve 'this interesting question', because his sources continued to remain only the *Ain-i-Akbari, Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Tarikh-i-Firishta*, and the researches of Rodgers on numismatics. On the other hand, the main sources for the study of the history of the sultans of Kashmir, namely, (1) the contemporary chronicles of Jonaraja, Srivara and Suka, (2) indigenous Persian chronicles, particularly the *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik* and the *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, and (3) epigraphical notices, were not consulted by him.

In the present work, I have made an attempt to utilise all that material which was not utilised by my predecessors—whether on birch-bark, stone, coins, or paper—to enable myself to restore the genealogy and chronology of the sultans of Kashmir, and to solve 'this interesting question' as satisfactorily as possible.

Incidentally, it may be interesting to mention here that our sources indicate two systems of chronology. Sanskrit chroniclers have invariably used the *Laukika* era, while Muslim chroniclers have used the *Hijra* era with the exception of the anonymous author of the *Baharistan-i-Shahi*. He was undoubtedly a Muslim; even so he has frequently used the *Laukika* dates. That was perhaps the trend of time, because the extant inscription[62] on the tomb of Saiyid Hasan (1484) also mentions the *Laukika* year along with the *Hijra* year. It is also mentioned in his *Wasiyat Nama*[63] (Succession Deed) by Makhdum Shaikh Hamza (1576), as well as in the Sanskrit deed of sale done in 1682.[64]

For the reckoning of the *Laukika* (also called *Saptarishi*) era, which continued to be used by the Brahmans of Kashmir down to our own time in the preparation of *varsa*

61. 'Chronology and Genealogy of the Sultans of Kashmir', *JRAS*, 1918, p. 452
62. See Chapter VII, Section iii
63. See Chapter XII, Section vi
64. *JRAS*, 1900, pp. 187-94

patris and horoscopes at least, we have to be grateful to Dr. George Buhler,[65] who for the first time discovered that the initial date of the *Laukika* era was *Caitra Sudi* I of the *Kali Samvat* 25 (expired) of the year 3075-76 B.C.

(v) *Political Geography and Topography*: Some mention of the material on the geography and topography of Kashmir appears unavoidable here. The accounts of the visits of Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan to Kashmir are, by themselves, a faithful guide to the main routes leading into the valley, and the places of interest here. But our earliest and authentic document describing the routes connecting Kashmir and India on the one hand, and Kashmir and the regions in Central Asia through the passes in the mountains in the north and north-west on the other, is the *Safarnama* of Mir Izzat Ullah Mughal.[66] He had escorted the ill-fated Moorcroft as guide and interpreter on his journey from Saharanpur to Yarkand *via* Kashmir and Ladakh during 1819-25. A fragment of the *Safarnama* is available in the India Office Library, London, which I have consulted. There is also an English version of this itinerary by Dr. H. H. Wilson.[67]

In 1873, Major Charles Ellison Bates compiled the *Gazetteer of Kashmir*, a quasi-confidential government publication, based on the notes, etc. taken by him on the spot in 1870-72, for 'Political and Military References' of the British government. It is an excellent guide-book. But Major Bates has omitted to mention many places of strategic and historical importance and he has dealt superficially with the political and cultural history of Kashmir.

For the interpretation of the ancient topography of Kashmir, we have the benefit of the profound and scholarly researches of Dr. Sir Aurel Stein. His *Memoir on the*

65. *JBB, RAS*, 1877, pp. 59 et. sq
66. As early as 1872 Captain Henderson of the British Foreign Department translated this report into English under the title *Travels in Central Asia by Mir Izzat Ullah*, in the year 1812-13, published by the Foreign Department Press, Calcutta, 1872
67. *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine and Review*, 1825, III & IV

Map Illustrating the Ancient Geography of Kashmir[68] is a monumental work for the study of the political history of Kashmir.

X

PUBLICATIONS AFTER 1947

Before I conclude this note it becomes unavoidable to state here that the India-Pakistan conflict suddenly shot up the importance of Kashmir. Famous as one of the most delectable spots in Asia, the 'paradise on the earth' till 1947, Kashmir assumed great international importance when the political intrigues of Pakistan compelled India to place the Kashmir case before the Security Council of the United Nations Organisation on 31 December 1947. Obviously, her political and strategic importance and wonderful natural position were exploited by world's great powers to the extent that the solution of the case has become intractable all these twenty-one years. Naturally books on Kashmir, especially dealing with the India-Pakistan case, by Indians, Pakistanis and writers interested in the international political tug-of-war poured out in abundance during these nineteen years. With all that literature this work has nothing to do. What, in fact, attracts our attention here are a few publications (Pakistani and Indian) which deal with the history of Kashmir under the Muslim rule.

The first work, according to precedence, is Dr. G. M. D. Sufi's *Kashir, Being History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*,[69] in two volumes. Here the author has attempted to narrate the political and cultural aspects of the history of Kashmir from the earliest times up to the government of Maharaja Pratap Singh (died 1925), the third Dogra ruler of Kashmir. No doubt he has made considerable improvement upon his earlier attempt.[70] But, unfortunately, his present work too is replete with inaccura-

68. *JASB*, Special Number, 1899
69. The University of the Punjab, Lahore, Pakistan, 1948
70. See *Footnote* 51, *supra*

cies as far as chronology and genealogy of the independent Sultans (1319-1586) are concerned. Then he has made no attempt to study the numismatic and epigraphic evidences extant on the tombs of these Sultans as well as relevant archaeological sites. Nor has he thoroughly studied the Sanskrit chronicles. As far as the rule of the Sikhs and Dogras is concerned, he has not at all made use of the official records. Then he has burdened his narrative with material, much of which has no relevance.

The second work is *The History of Struggle For Freedom In Kashmir*[71]—Cultural and Political—from the earliest times to the present day by Prem Nath Bazaz. It is neither a history of the cultural development nor the struggle for the freedom in Kashmir. Rather it is a book of propaganda. Nevertheless, it is useful for the study of the post-1930 history of the freedom movement in Kashmir, in which Bazaz played a significant role.

The third publication is Professor Mohibbul Hasan's *Kashmir under the Sultans*,[72] published as Abdul Halim Memorial Volume, in 1959.

Professor Mohibbul Hasan has restricted himself to the history of the independent Sultans (1319-1586). Among the post-1948 historians of Kashmir, he alone has had ample access to my work, *Kashmir from Shahmir to Shahjahan.*[73] He has not made use of the archaeological, numismatic and epigraphic sources in the preparation of his work.

The fourth work in order of the date of publication is Pandit Prithvi Nath Kaul Bamzai's *A History of Kashmir*[74] Mr. Bamzai, in his one-volume edition, describes the politi-

71. Kashmir Publishing Company, Kotla Mubarakpur, New Delhi, 1954
72. Iran Society, 159-B, Dharmatala Street, Calcutta, 1959
73. He had read copy of my doctorate thesis entitled *Kashmir from Shahmir to Shahjahan* in Srinagar, during 1949-50, when he borrowed it from Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah, then Chief Minister of Kashmir. He also read my own copy, when on our return from Andhra History Congress, I stayed with him in Calcutta as his guest. He also studied the copy lying in the Allahabad University Library during 1956-58. Yet he has nowhere made any mention of my work
74. Metropolitan Book Company (Private) Limited, Delhi, 1962

cal, social and cultural history of Kashmir from the earliest times to the present day. He appears to have creditably maintained the interest and tradition of his father Pandit Anand Kaul Bamzai. His book is a very good general history of Kashmir although it is lengthy and lacks historical probity and research. It is accompanied with a 'foreword' by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, then Prime Minister of India.

Mr. Bamzai, like Dr. Sufi, has not sifted the historical from unhistorical material. Then he has also not studied the numismatic, epigraphic and archaeological data available for the study of independent Sultans. So far as the rule of the Sikhs and Dogras is concerned, he has not consulted the official records nor contemporary newspapers. Evidently, his narrative of the Sikh and Dogra rulers remains unauthoritative and incomplete.

XI

CONCLUSION

The impact of Islam on Kashmir both in its cultural and political aspects is a topic of absorbing interest. For five centuries the country remained under the domination of Muslim rulers, subject as much to the personal propensities of individual rulers as to the deeper forces which follow in the train of the conquest of a country by foreigners. Even so Kashmir retained its historical individuality and nothing whatever could destroy her geographical entity. The two together provided a vast and intriguing background for her unique cultural growth and development.

History has perhaps very few examples of a people numerically so small who have in the course of a long succession of centuries suffered and struggled so much and paid so high a price in order to preserve their ancient traditions and culture. Under strong and magnificent kings, the Himalayan mountain ranges secured the valley from foreign intrusions. Under weak kings—and there were a lot of them —owing to their complacency and laxity of control over the passes, Kashmir fell an easy prey to adventurers, mission-

aries and conquerors from Iran, Western Tibet, Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang region), Russian Turkestan (Uzbekistan), Afghanistan and the Swat-Gilgit region.

Thus Kashmir was invaded, politically as well as culturally, innumerable times from the dawn of history by the Aryans, Mauryas, Kushans, Huns, Mongols, Tunghans, Qazaks, Turks, Mughals, Bombas, Khakhas, Pathans, Sikhs and Dogras, one after another. But irrespective of peace or war, her own cultural and commercial adventurers maintained regular traffic with the inhabitants of near and far countries. They propagated their culture, traditions and civilisation whose imprints are indelible. As for themselves, the Kashmiris assimilated foreign influences like the sea receiving waters of different rivers from distant lands.

Then in the attitudes of the masses, we discover a certain harmonious contiguity. They were 'actuated by the same motives, animated with the same lofty spirit, equally moved by the affections and enmities', as any people anywhere.

At the same time, they possessed some strongly-marked characteristics. Frequent changes of government materially affected their thoughts and attitudes. Their *rawaj* had a stronger appeal than religion. They remained deeply devoted to their country and countrymen. It is Kashmir whose greater Akbar (Sultan Zain-ul-Abiden, 1420-70), no doubt a very devout Mussalman, encouraged converted Hindus to return to their ancestral faith. It is Kashmir where every *ziarat* (shrine) was built on or near the premises of some ancient shrine. It is Kashmir where emperor Jahangir could not distinguish a Muslim from a Hindu and a Hindu from a Muslim.[75]

Civilisation and culture of a people depend upon certain factors—place, time, internal and external influences. An exceedingly delightful valley, sheltered on all sides by lofty mountains with perennial glaciers, which feed the

75. I was told by Maulana Syed Masoodi, at 5, Prithvi Raj Road, New Delhi, in 1951, that the same was the experience of Mahatma Gandhi when he visited Kashmir in 1947

streams with sweet water and rear luxuriant pine forests on their laps, Kashmir offers an exquisitely beautiful panorama of wonderful, graceful nature. Such conditions attracted missionaries from Iran and Turan and they subverted ancient and patriarchal institutions. Then the Mughals, having broken the spell that Kashmir was invincible, established 'a voluptuous and luxurious court abandoned to pomp and prodigality'. The ruthless Pathans, who followed, took as much pleasure in cutting off human heads as one takes in plucking roses. What could be the total effect of all this on the attitude of the masses? Nothing but hate and distrust of the foreigner.

Beautiful countries have been homes of tragedy. Happiness is rarely the lot of a beautiful land. So Kashmir, the desired land of men and monarchs, paid for her beauty. The desperadoes despoiled her, and emperors like Akbar embellished her. But neither could destroy her historical individuality or unique cultural background.

Kashmir's great bane through the ages has been her geographical position, inadequate economic resources—insufficiency of food and clothing—and nonavailability of essential necessaries of life—salt, tea, fuel, medicine, etc. Every Kashmiri needs to recognise the gravity of the economic situation particularly, and to decide how best to adjust himself to the rapidly changing tempo of life. To ensure prosperity of the country and freedom from want and fear, and to enable her to withstand the dangerous consequences of economic imbalance and political disorder, all that the intellectuals here are expected to do is to develop a scientific outlook, to discard dry and meatless medieval notions of sentiment and emotion, to cleanse the mind overclouded by the shadows of yesterday, in order to live in comfort, liberty and dignity, not in isolation, but in cooperation and comradeship with prosperous neighbours.

CHAPTER ONE

Geographical Features

I

PHYSICAL CONFIGURATION

THE DESTINIES OF STATES are as much determined by their physical environment as by their past history. Perhaps in no region of India has geography so amply influenced its history as in the case of Kashmir, the largest and the loveliest valley enclosed 'in the womb of the Himalaya'. Seen from the surrounding mountain ranges, particularly from the Banihal (Jawahar) tunnel in the south, from the Shankaracharya hillock (Kohi-Sulaiman) in Srinagar, and from the shrine of Baba Shukar-ud-din overlooking the Wular lake in the north, the valley appears a little world of its own surrounded by lofty and complicated mountain ranges which in the past assured her a distinct geographical, cultural and historical existence.

ORIGIN OF THE NAME

Kashmir is mentioned by Herodotus.[1] He refers to the town of 'Kaspatros' in connection with the anxiety of Darius to examine the flow of the Indus into the sea. Kaspatros has been identified with 'Kashpauros' or "Kashyapapura', or the town of 'Kashyapa', the legendary founder of Kashmir. According to Babar,[2] the name 'Kashmir' may be

1. Herodotus, IV, 13-27; Leitner, *Dardistan*, p. 2; Stein, *Anc. Geog.*, para 7. Longworth Dames holds that Kaspatros of Herodotus does not refer to Kashmir but to some place bordering on the Indus. (*Encycl. Islam*, II, p. 792)

2. *Babur-nama* (Beveridge), pp. 484-85, 484*n* 2

derived from the hill-tribe, 'Kas'. Dr. Stein[3] identified 'Kas' with the Khasas,[4] who inhabited the lower Jehlam valley.

Apart from the foregoing classical notices there is an ancient legend, according to which Kashmir was originally a vast lake,[5] called '*Satisaras*' (the lake of *Sati*, the consort of *Siva*). In course of time, it was occupied by demon Jalodbhava (water-born). He caused much distress to all neighbouring areas. He was eventually killed by sage Kashyapa, who then dried up the lake. Then he settled the land. Hiuen Tsiang,[6] who visited Kashmir in 631 A.D., relates the legend in the Buddhist form. This notice is significant.

Amongst the Muslim chroniclers Abul Fazl[7] is the first to mention this legend. Haidar Malik Chadura[8] reproduced it. His contemporary, the author of the *Baharistan-i-Shahi*,[9] alluded to it. The later chroniclers of Kashmir, with the exception of Badi-ud-din,[10] reproduced it. According to them, Kashmir derived its name from '*Kashap-Mar*', that is, the 'habitation of Kashapa'. So, it appears, Kashmir sprang forth from the brain of Kashyapa like Athens from the head of Zeus.

LEGEND SUPPORTED BY GEOLOGY

In all probability the legend appears to have originated from the physical condition of the valley and the surrounding mountains. The first European whose attention was drawn to this phenomenon was Bernier, when he visited Kashmir in 1663 A.D. in the train of Aurangzeb. On noticing the Baramulla gorge, which is the only natural outlet for

3. Stein, *Anc. Geog.*, para 36
4. For Khasas, see Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. India*, p. 131; Stein's Note, *Rajat*, I, 317; *Census Report of Kashmir*, 1891, p. 141
5. Stein, *Rajatarangini*, II, (Indian edition), pp. 388-89
6. *Si-Yu-Ki*, (tr. Beal), I, p. 149
7. *Ain* (Jarrett), II, p. 380
8. See Appendix A
9. See Appendix B
10. Wilson, *Essay*, p. 93

the waters of the Jehlam and its tributaries, he wrote[11]: 'I am certainly not disposed to deny that this region was once covered with water; but I cannot easily persuade myself that the opening in question was the work of man, for the mountain is very extensive and very lofty. I rather imagine that the mountain sank into some subterraneous cavern which was disclosed by a violent earthquake, not uncommon in these countries.'

Bernier's observations were scientifically explained by Major Rennell and Federick Drew, both reputed geologists and geographers. Major Rennell[12] writes: 'So far am I from doubting the tradition respecting the existence of the lake that converted *Cashmere* that appearances alone would seem to convince me without either the tradition or history'. Drew[13], who had made an on-the-spot study of the geographical features of Kashmir, says: 'The traditions of the natives—traditions that can be historically traced as having existed for ages—tend to the same direction—that the vale was in late geological times completely occupied by a lake —and these have usually been considered to corroborate the conclusions drawn from the observed phenomena. Agreeing, as I do, with the conclusion, I cannot count the traditions as perceptibly strengthening it; I have little doubt that they themselves originated in the same physical evidence that later travellers have examined.'

II

DEFENSIVE CHARACTER OF KASHMIR MOUNTAINS

None of the natural features of Kashmir have so directly influenced her history as the mighty mountain ranges which enclose it. For ages these mountains guaranteed to the inhabitants safety from foreign incursions, which made them both vain and slothful. Kalhana proudly writes[14]: 'The

11. Bernier, *Travels*, pp. 394-95
12. Rennell, *Memoir on the Map of Hindoostan*, p. 145
13. Drew, *Jummoo*, p. 207
14. *Rajat*, I, 39

country may be conquered by the force of spiritual merit, but not by the force of soldiers. The inhabitants are afraid only of the world beyond.'

The defensive character of these mountains has been noticed by foreign travellers. Hiuen Tsiang[15] (631-33) writes: The country is enclosed by mountains. These mountains are very high. 'Although the mountains have passes through them, these are narrow and contracted.' The neighbouring states that have attacked it have 'never succeeded in subduing it.' Ou-Kong[16] (759-63), another Chinese traveller, writes: 'The country is enclosed on all sides by mountains which form its natural ramparts. Only three roads have been opened through them, and these again are secured by gates.'

The early Muslim geographers write in the same strain. Al-Masudi[17] (941-43), who visited the Indus valley, records, among other things, his impressions about Kashmir also. 'This territory', he writes, 'is unapproachable except from one side so that he (the king of Kashmir) can shut up the whole of his dominion with one gate, for it is surrounded by mountains of such height that neither men nor wild animals can climb over them.... the natural fortification of this country is well known in Khurasan and other provinces, and it is one of the most wonderful things in the world.'

According to Alberuni[18] (1015-21), 'Kashmir lies on a plateau surrounded by mountains. They (the Kashmiris) are particularly anxious about the natural strength of their country and, therefore, take always much care to keep a strong hold upon the entrances and roads leading into it.'

Al-Masudi and Alberuni never entered Kashmir, but their statements were reproduced till the sixteenth century when Kashmir had already felt the heavy hand of foreign invasions. Neither Timur nor his historians ever entered

15. *Si-Yu-Ki, op. cit.*, I, p. 148
16. Stein, *Notes on Ou-Kong's Account of Kashmir*, p. 22
17. Al-Masudi, *Muraj-al-Dhuhab* (Sprenger), I, p. 382
18. Alberuni, *India* (Sachau), I, p. 206

Kashmir. But in his histories we find a vivid description of the physical features of this country. They are recorded in the *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*[19] and *Zafarnama*.[20] Mirza Haidar Dughlat[21], although himself thoroughly familiar with Kashmir, quotes from *Zafarnama* when he describes the physical features of this country.

III

IMPORTANCE OF MOUNTAIN PASSES

Kashmir mountains comprise three main ranges. They are the Pir Panjal Range, the Jehlam Valley Range and the North-Eastern Ranges.

I. The Pir Panjal Range

It starts from Banihal in the southeast, and extending like a semicircle disappears in the northwest at a point where the Jehlam river enters the Baramulla gorge. This range forms the natural boundary of the valley to the south and southwest.

It has had great political and commercial importance. All important routes which connected Kashmir with the Punjab cut across this range. These routes cross over the following passes:

(*a*) *Tosamaidan Pass* (Elev: 10,500 ft.). The route passing over this pass used to be the easiest and safest. It connected Kashmir with West Punjab. It had great political and strategical importance. Mahmud of Ghazni twice (in 1015 and 1021 A.D.) attempted to penetrate into Kashmir through this pass. But he failed. In 1814 Maharaja Ranjit Singh also made an unsuccessful attack on Kashmir then ruled by Ata Muhammad Khan, the Pathan governor from the same pass.

19. *Malfuzat-i-Timuri* (Mohd. Afzal Bukhari, Raza Library, Rampur Ms.), p. 591
20. *Zafarnama* (Bib. *Ind.*), p. 180
21. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, (E&R), p. 432

(b) *Pir Panjal Pass* (Elev: 11,400 ft.). It links Kashmir directly with Central Punjab. It was the most frequented route until the advent of the Sikhs. Akbar's generals, Qasim Khan and Sayyid Yusuf Khan, entered Kashmir by this route in order to overthrow Yaqub Khan Chak, the last independent Sultan of Kashmir. It became the imperial route to Kashmir under the Mughals. Akbar, Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb used this route when they visited Kashmir. Akbar got it dressed and broadened before he made use of it. Ali Mardan Khan made further improvements upon it during his governorship of Kashmir. He built a number of rest-houses on it.

(c) *Budil Pass* (Elev: 14,120 ft.). The road over this pass connects Kashmir directly with Akhnur (Jammu) and Sialkot (West Punjab). It was considered the shortest route connecting Kashmir with Punjab *via* Jammu, for purposes of communication and transport.

(d) *Banihal Pass* (Elev: 9,200 ft.). The route over this pass connects Kashmir with Upper Chenab and the East Punjab hill-states. Since the establishment of the Dogra rule in Kashmir (1846), communication and transport with Jammu began to be encouraged by this route. At present it is the easiest and most delightful land-route to Jammu suited for all types of transport. Generally it remains open throughout the year except when the pass gets choked by snow. Since 1960 the two tubes of the Jawahar Tunnel are maintaining both the inward and outward flow of traffic during winter months.

II. The Jehlam Valley Range

This range of mountains includes two small mountain chains which branch off from the Pir Panjal range and the Kajnag range. They start downwards from the Baramulla gorge and continue along the course of the Jehlam river for eighty miles up to the confluence of the Jehlam and the Kishanganga rivers at Domel. In between the two ranges lies the lower Jehlam valley. Excluding Uri, which is only

a tiny valley, the terrain is generally rough and uneven. At the end of it lies the Uri gorge. In 1835 Vigne[22] compared its situation to the Pass of Thermopylae. Between Baramulla and Rampur the terrain is spread out with woody hills, which rendered both communication and transport quite difficult. During their periodic sallys on the valley as late as 1850, the notorious Khakha and Bomba tribes, who are the offsprings of the ancient community of the Khasas, struck terror and looted the people.

This route has always had great strategic importance for the valley. Its strategical importance has not ceased even today. In fact, it has assumed grave importance since 1948. Its importance was recognised by Hiuen Tsiang[23] and Ou-Kong[24] when they entered the Kashmir valley by this route. Alberuni[25] also mentions this route. The first devastating Mongol invasion of the Kashmir valley was conducted by this route. Raja Bhagwan Das led the first Mughal invasion by this route.[26] Akbar returned from Kashmir by this route. Father Jerome Xavier[27], the first known European visitor to Kashmir, travelled by this route. Jahangir[28] has left a first-hand topographical account of it. As a direct route between Kashmir and Kabul, all traffic passed by this doute during the Pathan rule of Kashmir (1753-1819).

Under Muslim rulers this route had a tremendous influence on the political and cultural history of Kashmir. Shahmir entered the valley by this route and founded the first line of Muslim rulers. Sayyid Ali Hamadani and his son, Sayyid Muhammad Hamadani, with hundreds of their followers, also entered the valley by the same route and spread Muslim religion and culture.

22. Vigne, *JASB*, 1837 (Sept.), p. 769
23. *Si-Yu-Ki*, *op. cit.*, I, p. 148 sq
24. Stein, *Notes on Ou-Kong's Accounts of Kashmir*, p. 22
25. Alberuni, *op. cit.*, I, p. 206 sq
26. *Akbar-nama* (Beveridge), III, p. 715
27. *Ibid.*, p. 839; *Akbar and the Jesuits*, (C. H. Payne), pp. 78-79
28. *Tuzuk* (R&B), II, pp. 131-32, 140-41

III. North-Eastern Ranges

This range of mountains encloses Kashmir from the north and northeast and separates her ethnically and culturally from the surrounding regions of Ladakh, Baltistan and Dardistan, which can be reached after crossing the Zoji-la Pass and the Burzil Pass.

(*a*) *Burzil Pass*. (Elev: 10,740 ft.). It connects Kashmir valley with Astore, Chilas and Bunji, and farther still with Gilgit, Chitral, Yasin, Punial, Darel, etc. All these petty states are now held by Pakistan. This region has had immense strategical importance. The territories of three mighty states, Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang, etc.), Soviet Turkestan (Uzbekistan and Tashkent) and Afghanistan meet here. These districts, during the period under our review, were collectively known as Dardistan, or the region inhabited by the Dards. The Chaks, who were destined to play a great role in the political and cultural history of Kashmir for more than a century before the Mughals, were an offshoot of these Dards. Alberuni[29] mentions them as, 'Turkish tribes called *Battavaryan*, at whose hands Kashmir suffered intensely'. According to Kalhana[30] they were an impure people who repeatedly invaded the inhabitants of the valley.

(b) *Zoji-la Pass* (Elev: 11,300 ft.). The route over this pass links Kashmir with Ladakh, Baltistan and Tibet, and the Central Asian region of Badakhshan, Samarqand, Khutan, Bukhara, Kashghar, etc. some of which states are now parts of Soviet Uzbekistan and some of Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang, etc.). Since ancient times this route had been an important thoroughfare and influenced the political history of the country during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The Buddhist Rinchana, who proclaimed himself the first Muslim ruler of Kashmir, entered the valley by this route. Mirza Haidar Dughlat, when he invaded Kashmir in 1532 at the head of a large Mughal cavalry of

29. Alberuni, *op. cit.*, I, p. 207
30. *Rajat*, I, 312-16

Sultan Said Khan of Kashghar, entered the valley by the same route.

This route has also been an important commercial highway between Kashmir and Western Tibet. Kashmir imported the famous shawl-wool, yak-tail, gold, dry-fruits, salt, tea, etc. by this route.[31] In British times this route was known as the Treaty High Road. They took particular care, since the reign of Maharaja Ranbir Singh (1857-85), to keep a close watch on all traffic on this road as a precaution against the aggressive designs of the Czars of Russia.

ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL OF THE PASSES

The mountain passes were obviously vulnerable points in the natural fortifications of Kashmir. The Hindu kings maintained great vigilance over them. In times of danger they closed down these 'gates'. Such a contingency for the first time arose during the reign of Khalifa Al-Mansur (754-75), when the troops of Amir Hasham, the governor of Sind, after having sacked Gandhara, also invaded the territory lying to the south of Kashmir. The King of Kashmir was compelled in self-defence to close down all passes excepting the Zoji-la pass, the Burzil pass and the Baramulla[32] pass. In the eleventh century Kashmir was twice seriously threatened by Mahmud of Ghazni from the Tosamaidan pass. But on both occasions he failed to raise the seige of the hill-fort of Lohkot.[33] Under these circumstances, all unauthorised ingress into the valley was strictly supervised. Alberuni,[34] who was present at this siege says: 'The kings of Kashmir took much care to keep a strong hold upon entrances and roads leading into the country which rendered communication and commerce with this country difficult. They, moreover, did not allow any Hindu, whom they did not know personally, to enter their country, much less other people.'

31. Bates, *Gazetteer*, pp. 76-77, 80, 89, 92
32. Stein, *Notes on Ou-Kong's Account of Kashmir*, p. 22
33. Nazim, *Mahmud of Ghazna*, pp. 104-5
34. Alberuni, *op. cit.*, I, p. 206

The military organisation of these 'gates' deserves our notice. Kalhana mentions these 'watch-stations' by the term *dvara* or *dranga*.[35] This name survives in the extant 'drangs' at Baramulla and Hirpur.[36] The Muslim chroniclers mention them as *darah, kotal,* or *kartal,* etc. Under the Hindus, the officer in charge of the passes was called *dvarapati or dvaradipa*,[37] etc. He was a feudal chief possessing soldierly qualities, military acumen and capable of undertaking rough duties.[38] Under the independent Sultans only the names changed. In the chronicles of Srivara and Suka,[39] the *dvarapati* is mentioned as *margapati* or *margesa,* etc. Dr. Stein identifies the *margesas* with the

35. *Rajat,* I, 122; IV, 404; V, 1317, etc

36. *Ibid.,* VIII, 2507, and Stein's note; VII, 140 and III, 227 and note; Stein, *Anc. Geog,* paras 49 and 52; *Rajat,* V, 39 & VII 1352

37. *Rajat,* V, 214 & Dr. Stein's note

38. *Ibid.,* VIII, 422; VII, 217

39. Srivara (text), III, 482; IV, 137, 153, etc; Suka (text), 198, 206, 216, 264. Dr. Stein writes, 'They (Margesas) are clearly meant for the *Maliks* of Muhammadan times.' (Stein. *Rajat,* I, p. 214. Para II. Notes). This opinion does not appear to be tenable. In the first instance, much of the ancient administrative organisation with its Sanskrit phraseology changed under the Muslims. Srivara and Suka, the contemporaries of the independent Sultans (1459-1586), use 'Margesa', 'Margapati', as well as 'Malika'. Srivara mentions 'Malika Abdala Margesa', and 'Malika Ibrahima Margapati'. [Srivara (Dutt), pp. 341, 365, etc.]. These names have been transliterated by Muslim chroniclers, as 'Malik Abdal Magre', and 'Malik Ibrahim Magre' respectively. [*Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), Vol. II, p. 441; Firishta (Luck), pp. 351, 352, 355, etc.]. Secondly, the title 'Malik' was not associated with the 'Margesas' only. It was also conferred on the chiefs of the Damara, Raina, (Rajanaka) and Chakra tribes. These tribes are mentioned in their colloquial forms, *viz.,* 'Dars' (Dangars), 'Rainas', and 'Chaks' respectively, and continue being called by these *'Krams'* to this day. (Lawrence, *Valley,* pp. 306, 308). Thus Srivara's 'Damara Usta Malika' and 'Malika Kacha (Kanchana) Chakra', [Srivara (Dutt), pp. 341, 347 and 353] have been reproduced by our Persian chroniclers as 'Malik Usta Dar' and 'Malik Kachi Chak' respectively. [*Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), p. 441; Firishta (Luck), II, pp. 351-53, 355, 348, etc.]. Mirza Haidar Dughlat's notice is conclusive. He writes: 'Among the Maliks of Kashmir there were (Malik) Abdal Magre, (Malik) Kaji (Kachi) Chak, (Malik) Lohar Magre and (Malik) Regi Chak. [*Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), p. 441]. These examples show that the terms 'Margesa' and 'Malika' are neither synonymous nor they meant one and the same title

maliks[40] of the Muslim times. This does not appear convincing. Because the Sanskrit term 'Margesa' became the Kashmiri 'Magre', both terms denoting profession connected with guarding of the highways. But all Magres could not have been employed on the same job, as all survivors of 'Dewans' and 'Wazirs', although continuing the titles, did not discharge the functions of their great ancestors who originally received the titles. Under the Muslims, the 'Margesas', which had developed into a large tribe, became popular as 'Magres',[41] and those of them, who continued performing the duties of guarding the frontier routes, were bestowed the title of *Malik* which they affixed to their names.[42]

The *Malik*[43] has had a chequered history. Under inde-

40. The 'Malik' was a title of honour and distinction. It came to Kashmir in the time of the independent Sultans. It came into use like the terms 'Shah', 'Sultan', 'Sillah', 'Masjid' 'Nimaz', 'Khanqah', and 'Khan', etc. which were freely adopted by Sanskrit chroniclers of Kashmir. [*Loka Prakasha, Indische Studien*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 306-11; Srivara (Dutt), pp. 226, 227, etc.] Among the Muhammadan nobles of the Sultans of Delhi there were Malik Kafur, Malik Muhammad Jaisi, Malik Hoshang, etc., who held the title of the Malik. (Barani, *Tarikh-i-Ferozshahi;* Ishwari Prasad, *History of Qaraunah Turks*, pp. 145-224, etc.). Ala-ud-din Khalji, before becoming Sultan, was called Malik Ala-ud-din Khalji. [Badauni, *Muntakhab* (Ranking), I, pp. 232, 236]. Malik Afgan was a favourite of Sultan Feroz Shah. (*Ibid.*, p. 334). When Balban became Sultan he directed his ripe judgement and experience to the organisation of the army and placed his cavalry and infantry under the command of the 'Maliks' of experience. (Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, III, p. 100). In view of the honour and distinction that the title carried, it was also imported into their social and administrative system by the Sultans of Kashmir, and was granted by them to their loyal and devoted officers. In course of time the title became hereditary and was adopted by the members of the Malik's family also like the titles 'Wazir' and 'Dewan' of the Mughal and Sikh times. In course of time the title-holders became numerically large enough and turned into a separate community and distinguished themselves from the rest of the Sultans' subjects by founding separate localities in Srinagar as well as in the suburbs which they inhabited. Thus we find 'Malik Angan' and 'Malik Yar', two quarters in Srinagar, and Malikpur, a village situated on the confluence of the Sind and the Jehlam. (Stein, *Rajat*, II, p. 330)

41. Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 306 42. See notes 39 and 40, *supra*

43. For a detailed history of the institution 'Malik', see Baron von Hugel, *Kaschmir und das Siek*, II, p. 165 sq

pendent Sultans the leaders of the four political parties, namey, Magres, Dars, Rainas and Chaks, received the title 'Malik' from the reigning Sultans for their loyalty. After the annexation of Kashmir by Akbar most of them were killed or banished because they had fought against the Mughals for their independence. The worst sufferers were the 'Maliks' who had served under or actually belonged to the Chak community. But those of them, who submitted to the new regime and swore fidelity, received fresh grants of land, etc. from Akbar when he visited Kashmir for the first time. Then they continued discharging their ancestral function of guarding the routes within their jagirs. Their powers varied according to the size of their jagirs. Generally speaking, under the Mughal rule the 'Maliks' exercised powers of life and death and collected customary offerings on occasions of marriages and deaths within their jagirs.

Since the advent of the Pathan rule in 1753, however, their powers were gradually curtailed. For purposes of security the Pathans closed down almost all routes[44] leaving open only the Baramulla route for direct communication with Kabul. Relieved of their security duties the Maliks performed judicial duties. They tried criminal cases and awarded medieval punishments like cutting off noses and ears. Under the Sikhs (1819-46), traffic on all routes connecting Kashmir and the Punjab was restored. The new rulers resumed or reduced their jagirs to render the Maliks innocuous. Instead they were compensated with cash grants. The highest grant of Rs. 1,500 was paid to Dilawar Malik of Bandipur; but he had to maintain a militia of 500 troops.

Deprived of their lands, the Maliks contented themselves with transit duties (*rasum-i-rahdari*) which they collected from traders for safeguarding their persons and goods while travelling from one place to another. But the wretched among them scared the traders with robberies and compelled them to pay exorbitant fees for their safety. However, the Sikh rulers of Kashmir dealt with such cases very severely.

44. For the 'Passes' of Kashmir see Vigne, *Travels*, I, pp. 147-49

They even appointed Sikh Maliks instead of indigenous Maliks where life and property of traders happened to be imperilled. On the whole, the Malik was an asset to traders. Without him they suffered lots of difficulties and dangers. Therefore, 'if their prices were exorbitant it is no wonder', to quote Baron Hugel.[45]

With the coming of the Dogras (1846), and laying out of a network of highways with police chowkies at intervals for the safety and security of communication and transport, the Maliks disappeared as an institution. What remains is that some of them continue to escort Hindu pilgrims to the Amarnath Cave and the Harmukata Ganga. In lieu of this they receive one-third of the total offerings in cash and kind collected at these shrines.

V

THE VALLEY

The valley of Kashmir comprises the plain formed by the Jehlam and its tributaries and the plateaus, all flanked by mighty mountain ramparts. It is situated between 33° 30′ and 34° 40′ north latitude and 74° 20′ and 75° 40′ east longitude. It is oval in shape. Its length is about 89 miles, and breadth from northeast to southwest varies between 20 to 25 miles; its area is about 2,000 square miles.[46] Its salubrious climate, varied panorama of fields and forests, and splendid mountains and striking natural beauty have earned worldwide fame. There are few who have not heard of the natural wonders of Kashmir. Only the initiated can know how favoured the country is. For centuries past it laid its spell upon travellers and visitors, sages and saints, a spell which lured them back again and again.

Father Jerome Xavier[47] who visited Kashmir in 1597 in the train of Emperor Akbar, writes: 'The kingdom of

45. Hugel, *Kaschmir*, II, p. 171
46. Bates, *Gazetteer*, pp. 1-2, and map
47. *Akbar and the Jesuits* (Transl. Payne), p. 78

CAXIMIR (Kashmir) is one of the pleasantest and most beautiful countries to be found in the whole of India, we may even say in the east. It is completely surrounded by very high mountains, which for the greater part of the year are covered with snow; and all the rest of the kingdom is a beautiful plain clothed in verdure diversified with groves, orchards, gardens, and well-watered by springs and rivers, a very pleasant land for those who dwell therein.' Bernier[48] was simply charmed with the valley and all it contained when he saw it in 1663. Professor Foucher[49] so tersely describes the beauty of the valley. He writes: 'What I believe to be the true reason for this special charm which everybody seeks, even those who do not try to analyse it. It cannot be only because of its lakes, the splendour of its snowy mountain tops, or the happy murmur of its myriad brooks sounding in the cool soft air.... But what is found in Kashmir *alone* is the grouping of these two kinds of beauty in the midst of nature still animated with a mysterious life'.

Let us see what the Asians have to say. The author of the *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*[50] writes: 'The delightful kingdom of Kashmir is unique in respect of its charms, softness of air, salubrity of climate and variety of fruits'. According to Mirza Haidar Dughlat,[51] 'Kashmir is among the most famous countries of the world, and is celebrated both for its attractions and its wonders'. Faizi[52] was simply enamoured of Kashmir. Abul Fazl[53] found the country 'enchanting and one that might be fittingly called a garden of perpetual spring, surrounding a citadel terraced to the skies and deservedly appropriate to be either the delight of the world-

48. Bernier, *Travels*, pp. 400-1
49. *Rajatarangini* (R. S. Pandit), Invitation, p. xxi
50. *Malfuzat-i-Timuri* (Rampur Ms.), p. 591
51. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), p. 424
52. Faizi's often quoted famous lines are:
Hazar Kafilah Shauk me kunad shabgir
Ki bar-i-aash Kushayad ba Ursai Kashmir.
Firishta (Luck), II, p. 334
53. *Ain* (Jarrett), II, p. 348

ling or the retired abode of the recluse'. But the charming beauty of Kashmir had a hypnotic effect on 'Urfi'. He described the rejuvenating effect of the climate of Kashmir in his well-known verse.[54]

Akbar was so delighted with the country that he called it his 'private garden'.[55] Jahangir, a born naturalist and horticulturist, abandoned himself to its charms. 'Kashmir', he wrote,[56] 'is a garden of eternal spring or an iron fort to a palace of kings—a delightful flower-bed, and a heart-expanding heritage for dervishes'. And he concluded his description with these remarks, 'If one were to take to praise Kashmir whole books would have to be written'.

But there is the other side of the medal! Kashmir's beautiful springs and autumns and bright summers are not perpetual features of its beauty. There are winters, too, very biting and severe. Perhaps few of those who abandoned themselves to the charms of Kashmir had experienced its winters. Hiuen Tsiang[57] describes the winter of Kashmir, which he had experienced himself in these words: 'The climate is cold and stern. There is much snow and little wind. The people wear leather doublets and clothes of white linen.' Kashmir has had long and very stiff winters with very heavy snows which almost paralysed life, more so when the Jehlam river and its canals were frozen over.[58] Kalhana[59] gives a graphic description of the severities suffered by the army of Bhoja (1128-49) on their winter march over the snow-covered mountains. It need be told that in those days as much as forty to sixty feet of snow used to fall in a severe winter on the high

54. Urfi's famous lines are:
Har Sukhta Jane ki ba Kashmir dar ayad
Gar Murgi kababast ba bal o par ayad.
Firishta (Luck), II, p. 334
55. Badauni (Lowe), *op. cit.*, II, pp. 381-98
56. *Tuzuk* (R&B), II, pp. 143-44
57. *Si-Yu-Ki, op. cit.*, I, p. 148
58. *Rajat*, VIII, 1376 sq., 1434 sqq., VII, 597
59. *Ibid.*, VIII, 2710-14

mountain ranges.[60] In rigorous winters whole life came to a standstill. Untimely snowfall resulted in acute famine, disease and destruction of life.[61] On such occasions the mighty snow-covered mountains confined the starving Kashmiris within a rock-bound prison which rendered escape difficult and import of food-stuffs impossible. Such conditions of life and such environment framed the character, traditions and institutions of the Kashmiris.

60. Stein, *Anc. Geog.*, para 77 note 10
61. *Akbar and the Jesuits, op. cit.*, pp. 77-78

CHAPTER TWO

Historical Background

I

THE EARLY HISTORY OF KASHMIR is involved in considerable obscurity. However, we can fix up certain authentic facts which may be accepted as the starting point of the narrative.

MAURYAS

Asoka appears to have included Kashmir in his scheme of religious propaganda. None of his edicts have so far been traced in the valley. But the Mansehra[1] edict is an evidence. According to Hiuen Tsiang[2], Asoka built stupas and viharas in Kashmir. Kalhana states that the 'great King Asoka', who reigned over the earth, laid out religious establishments and founded 'Srinagar'[3], the capital of Kashmir.

Asoka left behind Jaluka to rule over Kashmir. He was anti-Buddhist. But he established peace and order and settled Brahmans of Kanauj here. He expelled the 'mlecchas' (Greeks), who had pushed their way into the country during the reign of Asoka. He established a complete system of administration.[4]

1. Mansehra is situated on the direct route which connects Abbottabad with Kashmir. It is 13½ miles from Abbottabad and 111 miles from Baramulla, Kashmir. (Drew, *Jummoo*, p. 528)

2. *Si-Yu-Ki, op. cit.*, I, p. 150 sq

3. *Rajat*, I, 140; *Zafarnama* (Bib. Ind.) wrongly calls it 'Nagar', whereas Mirza Haidar Dughlat names it 'Srinagar'—*Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), p. 431. Jonaraja and Suka were also familiar with this name. (Jonaraja (text), S. 81, and Suka (text), S. 240). Excluding Abul Fazl and Jahangir, almost all Mughal chroniclers call it either 'Shahr' or 'Kashmir'. For identification, see Cunningham, *Anc. Geog*, pp. 95-97; Buhler, *Report*, p. 17, and Stein's Note, *Rajat*, III, 339-49

4. *Rajat*, I, 115-20

KUSHANS

Kashmir was also included in the dominion of the Kushans. The Kushan kings, Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka, founded the three extant villages, Uskur, Zukur and Kaneshpur[5] respectively. Kanishka held the third great Buddhist Council in Kundalavana[6], and rededicated the country to the Buddhist Church. According to Hiuen Tsiang[7], the decisions arrived at this council were engraved on sheets of red copper and enclosed in a stone receptacle over which a stupa was built.

At the fall of the Kushans, Kashmir was ruled by Abhimanyu. His name survives in village Bimyun, situated some two miles southwest of Srinagar. His reign was a struggle between Buddhism and Brahmanism. Buddhism received a setback and the king became anti-Buddhist. He is the earliest known king who moved down during winter months to the warm regions of Darvabhisara.[8] He was succeeded by Gonanda, the founder of the Gonanda dynasty, and a great patron of the Naga cult which flourished under him. Only the names of his eight successors are known to us.

HUNS

With the Hun irruption we reach another landmark in the history of Kashmir. Toramana ruled over Kashmir

5. *Ibid.*, I, 168 and Stein's Note; Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.* p. 99 sqq

6. *Kundalavana* is a woody quarter near Harwan, in the neighbourhood of the Shalamar garden. See also Beni Prasad, *State in Anct. India*, p. 231. Nothing to this effect has been found at Harwan so far. But I have a hunch that the site could be somewhere among the woody recesses of Kulgam. I invite the archaeologist to explore

7. *Si-Yu-Ki, op. cit.*, I, pp. 155-56

8. *Rajat*, I, 180. Darvabhisara as a geographical term comprised the whole tract of lower and middle hills lying between the Jehlam and Chinab rivers and included Rajauri and Bhimber which were under the hegemony of Kashmir

about the end of the fifth century[9] A.D. His son Mihirakula's exploits and character are graphically illustrated by Kalhana. He describes him as a 'man of violent acts', a 'scourge of God on earth', who 'killed people without compassion or discrimination'.[10] In the end he became a zealous Saivite and persecuted the Buddhists. He showered unstinted favours on Brahmans and revived their customs and traditions.

Between the death of Mihirakula and the accession of the Karkota dynasty, 25 kings ruled over Kashmir. But only three of them attract our notice. First comes Gopaditya. He founded the Gupkar quarter of Srinagar and built the temple of Jyesthesvara[11] (Takht-i-Sulaiman). Matrigupta, the second, got the throne of Kashmir with the help of Vikramaditya[12] of Ujjain. Pravarasena, the third, laid out the city of Srinagar[13], as it exists today.

II

KARKOTA DYNASTY

With the accession of the Karkotas the history of Kashmir becomes factual. It is no more legendary. From now onwards important rulers and events are mentioned in coins, in the notices of foreign travellers and in contemporary histories.

The first king of the Karkota dynasty was Durlabha Vardhana. He is identified with King Tu-lo-pa[14] of the Chinese annals. During his reign Hiuen Tsiang visited Kashmir. He stayed here for two years (631-33). He found the king hospitable and well-disposed towards the Buddhists. But his subjects were not Buddhist-minded. They followed Hindu

9. Smith, *JASB*, 1894, p. 195 sqq; Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 291
10. *Rajat*, I, 290-93 sqq; *Si-Yu-Ki*, *op. cit.*, I, p. 171 sqq
11. *Rajat*, I, 124 & Stein's Note 'C'; Cunningham, *JASB*, 1848, p. 247 sqq; Fergusson, *History of Indian Archit*, p. 282
12. *Rajat* (Stein), III, 242, and Introduction, p. 83
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 339-49 & Stein's Note
14. Cunningham, *Coins of Med. India*, pp. 38, 43

traditions and worshipped Hindu gods. The kingdom of Kashmir during this reign was very extensive. It included Ṭaxila, Hazara, the Salt Range and the hill-states of Rajauri and Punch.[15] There was peace and prosperity everywhere.

The next king who attracts our notice is Chandrapida. He is mentioned as Tchen-to-lo-pi-li[16] in the Chinese records. He had diplomatic and commercial alliance with the Chinese Emperor Hiuen-tsung (713-55). But he fell a victim to the witchcraft[17] of his cruel brother Tarapida, who succeeded him. But Tarapida was killed by the magic of Brahmans who hated him bitterly. He was succeeded by Lalitaditya.

Lalitaditya-Mukhtapida

He is perhaps the most famous Hindu ruler of Kashmir known to history. Tang[18] dynasty records mention him as *Mu-to-pi*, who approached Emperor Hiuen-tsung for 200,000 troops to wage war against the Tibetans. Alberuni[19] mentions him as 'Muttai', who ruled a vast dominion. The Kashmiris honoured his memory and annually celebrated the 2nd of *Chet* to commemorate his victory over the Turks. Kalhana[20] describes him as a mighty conqueror who established his authority beyond the boundaries of Kashmir. He dethroned and killed Yasovarman, the king of Kanauj,[21] and brought the famous poet Bhavabhuti[22] to adorn his court. He marched against Balkh and Bukhara,[23]

15. *Hiuen-Tsiang Life* (Beal), pp. 68 sqq., 192; *Si-Yu-Ki*, *op. cit.*, I, 136, 143, 147, 158, 163

16. Dr. Stein's Note, *Rajat*, IV, 45

17. For the knowledge and use of witch-craft (*abicara*) in Kashmir see Yule, *Marco Polo*, I, p. 175. Marco Polo records that 'Kashmiris have an astounding acquaintance with the devilries of witch-craft and they make their idols speak'; also Buhler, *Report*, p. 24

18. *Cathay And The Way Thither* (ed. Yule), I, p. 70

19. Alberuni, *op. cit.*, II, p. 178

20. *Rajat*, IV, 133-69

21. Smith, V. A., *Early History*, p. 392

22. *Rajat*, IV, 144

23. *Ibid.*, 166 and Stein's note

conquered Western Tibet, and became the overlord of Kangra and Jalandhar.

Internally, too, Kashmir flourished under Lalitaditya. The ruins of the splendid temple of Martand[24] are reminiscent of the glory of his reign and prosperity of his subjects.

But Kashmir history offers many examples of great and gallant kings who were succeeded by those who were generally weak, indolent or tyrannical. Lalitaditya's elder son abondoned the throne after one year. His younger son exhausted his energies in ruthless deeds and debauchery. He sold his subjects to Muslims and adopted their civilisation and culture.[25]

But his grandson, Jayapida, revived Lalitaditya's traditions. He founded the beautiful town of Indarkot,[26] and patronised art and learning. Damodhara Gupta, Kasira Pandita, Manoratha and Bhatta Uda Bhatta,[27] whose extant works throw much light on the contemporary life and social conditions, adorned his court. But in his old age he became depraved and cruel. He levied oppressive taxes, deprived the cultivators of their extra stocks, and confiscated the land grants of Brahmans, who revolted and resorted to hunger-strikes.[28] After Jayapida the hisotry of the Karkotas is a poor record of six puppet kings. Utapalapida, the last, was deposed in 855 by his minister, Sura, in favour of Avantivarman.

24. Cunningham, *Arian Order of Architecture, JASB*, 1848, p. 258 sqq., Fergusson, *History of Indian Arch.*, p. 285 sqq; Stein's Note, *Rajat*, IV, 192; *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), pp. 426-27; *Ain* (Jarrett), II, p. 358

25. *Rajat*, IV, 397

26. Indarkot or Jayapura-Dvaravati of Kalhana (*Rajat*, IV, 506 and Dr. Stein's note; Buhler, *Report*, p. 15) is a picturesque village on the bank of the beautiful Manasbal lake. It is also known as Safapor. (Lat. 34° 16′, Long. 74° 34′)—(Bates, *Gazetteer*, p. 326). Mirza Haidar Dughlat had his palace here. Akbar also paid a visit to this place

27. *Rajat*, IV, 486-98

28. *Ibid.*, IV, 82, 99 and Dr. Stein's note on 'Prayopavesa' (hunger-strike)

III

THE UTPALA DYNASTY

Avantivarman (855-83)

During the last phase of the Karkota dynasty, Kashmir suffered considerably. Even her dominions seceded from her. But the new king, Avantivarman, remained a great friend and well-wisher of his subjects. He concerned himself mainly with the internal security and prosperity of the country which was the greatest need. He was fortunate to accomplish his task with the help of his two efficient ministers, Sura and Suyya. Sura was a statesman of exceptional drive, imagination and tact. He was stern but impartial. The king owed the throne to him. His name survives in the town of Hirpur,[29] which was founded by him.

Suyya, on the other hand, appears to have been well versed in agricultural economics and hydrology. Gifted with extraordinary common sense, he was perhaps the first person to observe that floods in Kashmir were caused mainly by the river Jehlam, whenever its passage got choked at the Baramulla gorge by heaps of silt and stones which the river and its tributaries rolled down. The indigenous method which he employed to clear out the passage may surprise modern hydraulicians. What he did looks so simple. He threw some handfuls of coins into the water at Dyargul[30] where the flow of the river had been impeded. Immediately the famine-stricken villagers jumped into the water for money. In their search for cash they automatically dredged the river, and it began to flow with rapidity. There-

29. Surapor (Lat. 33° 41', Long. 74° 46'), modern Hirpur (*Rajat*, V, 39 and Stein's Note) is situated at a distance of seven miles southwest of Shupian on the road towards the Pir Panjal Pass. (Bates, *Gazetteer*, p. 207)

30. *Rajat*, V, 87-89. 'Yaksadara' of Kalhana, identified by Dr. Stein with 'Dyargul', is applied to this day to the rocky spur which runs down to the bed of the river Jehlam close to the village of Khadanyar (Lat. 34° 11', Long. 74° 22') about three miles below Baramulla. Yaksadara, literally, 'the demon's cleft', refers to the remarkable cutting in the rocky spur for the free passage of the Jehlam. (See Stein's Note, *Rajat*, V, 87)

after Suyya regulated the course of the Jehlam. He reclaimed lands wherever possible and irrigated dry lands by a network of canals. Soon Kashmir became prosperous, because cultivators reaped in abundance. The price of *shali*, the staple of the country, fell from 200 to 36 dinnaras a *kharwar*.[31] To this day Suyya's name survives in the town of Sopur,[32] which he founded.

The internal recovery of the country is further indicated by the large number of temples which the king built. In particular, he is remembered as the founder of the town of Avantipore, which is associated with his name. The extant ruins of his temples at Avantipore[33] is an ample proof of his magnificence and the prosperity of his subjects.

Sankaravarman (883-902)

Avantivarman bequeathed to his son and successor Sankaravarman a settled and prosperous state. It enabled him to reassert the sovereignty of Kashmir in the neighbouring hill-states lying to the south. He subdued Kangra, Gujrat and Hazara.[34] But his accumulated resources were exhausted

31. *Rajat*, V, 116-17, A 'kharwar', or 'kharbar' (Persian) and 'khari' (Sanskrit), weighs nearly 178 lb (Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 243). In times of famine, a 'kharwar' of 'shali' cost 1050 dinnaras. (*Rajat*, V, 71). For dinnara and the monetary system of Kashmir, see Stein's Note H. *Rajat*, (Stein Ed.), II, pp. 308-28

32. Sopur or ancient 'Suyyapura' (Lat. 34° 17', Long. 74° 31') founded by Suyya (*Rajat*, V, 118) is a large and flourishing town built on either side of the Jehlam a few miles below the point where it leaves the Wular lake. (Bates, *Gazetteer*, pp. 351-52; Stein, *Anc. Geog.*, para 128)

33. *Rajat*, V, 44-45 sqq. and Dr. Stein's note. Avantipur (Lat. 33° 55', Long. 75° 31') is a village which occupies the site of one of the most famous of the ancient capitals of Kashmir. It is situated on the right bank of the Jehlam, midway between Srinagar and Anantnag, at a distance of 18 miles from Srinagar. The whole neighbourhood is strewn with ruins but the only remains of its former grandeur are a couple of extant temples, in their fast march to destruction. (Bates, *Gazetteer*, p. 128). For archaeological importance of these temple-ruins, see Cunningham, *JASB*, 1848, p. 275 sqq; Cole, *Anc. Buildings Kashmir*, p. 25 sqq; Cowie, *JASB*, 1865, p. 121 sqq

34. *Rajat*, V, 140-49, 217

before he could complete his scheme of conquests. Under the circumstances, he was compelled to overtax his subjects. He also robbed the temples of their wealth, reduced the weight of measures and introduced the most hated system of *karbegar*.[35] But he had not completely reduced Hazara when he died suddenly.

IV

CIVIL STRIFE

With the beginning of the tenth century we come face to face with three political parties which traced their origin to the communities of soldiers and peasants. They were a rude, disobedient people, and played a tragic role in Kashmir politics. They are known as Tantrins, Damaras and Ekangas.[36] Under strong kings their restless and

35. 'Rudhabharodhi' or the ancient organisation of *karbegar*, 'corvee', or forced labour, remained until 1933 one of the most hated features of Kashmir administration. (*Rajat*, V, 172-74 and Stein's Note; Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 411 sqq. The manifold abuses of *begar* are fully discussed by Lawrence.)

36. These three warlike tribes were responsible for all political disturbances in Hindu times. The Tantrins and Damaras still survive among the Muslim agriculturist communities of Tantres and Dars (also Dangars). (Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 306). Kshemendara (11th century) mentions the Damaras as full of fighting spirit and quarrelsome. (*Lokaprakasa, Indische Studien*, Vol. xviii, p. 307); Kalhana (12th century) mentions the Damaras in connection with the political testament he puts into the mouth of Lalitaditya. (*Rajat*, IV, 348). In the chronicles of Jonaraja, Srivara and Suka, we come across very few references to this tribe. Probably they had disappeared as rebellious people after their wholesale conversion to Islam when they got mixed up with other agriculturists retaining only their caste name 'Dar' or 'Dangar'. [Jonaraja (text), p. 96 sq, p. 466 sq; Srivara (text) pp. 414, 464; Suka (text) pp. 39, 44 sqq.] According to Dr. H. H. Wilson, Damaras were a fierce intractable tribe who originally inhabited the mountains lying to the north of Kashmir. (Wilson, *Essay*, pp. 51, 70). Stein states that they were local people like the Russian 'Bojar'. (Stein's Note G., *Rajat*, II, p. 304 sqq.)

As regards the origin of Tantrins and Ekangas, Dr. Wilson has identified them with Tatars and Afghans, *Eca* meaning 'one' and *Anga* 'limb', which, he says, may refer to some peculiarity of discipline, as to troops

troublesome nature remained under control. But with growing political disorder in northern India, in Kabul and in the regions adjoining Kashmir consequent upon Muslim invasions, an atmosphere of suspense and uncertainty gripped Kashmir also. Its first symptom was that the border chiefs, popularly known as 'Kottarajas', became restive and declared themselves independent. Inside the valley, too, mercenary bands of soldiers and self-seeking landlords took law into their hands, and the sudden death of Sankaravarman made confusion worse confounded.

Compelled by the prevailing confusion, Gopalavarman, the minor heir-apparent, and his mother Sugandha, sought the protection of Prabhakaradeva who happened to be the most powerful minister at the time. But the vicious conduct of the dowager queen provoked universal hatred and hostility. The Tantrins revolted and overpowered her. They offered the crown to Partha (960-21) who was a member of the royal family. This decision would not satisfy her. She managed to take the Ekanagas into her confidence and made a second bid for the throne. But she failed and paid with her life.

fighting in a body. (Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 68). According to Dr. Farquhar, 'Ekangas' is a sect of Shri Vaishnava ascetics who are not Brahmans. (*Religious Quest of India*, 243, Note). Kalhana acquaints us for the first time with Tantrins and Ekangas in the reign of Queen Sugandha (904-06). (*Rajat*, V, 248-49). While Dr. Wilson names them 'Tatri', Dr. Stein correctly writes 'Tantri'. Their survivors are still known by the 'Kram' Tantre. (Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 306). Kalhana speaks of Tantrins as foot-soldiers. (*Rajat*, V, 248). He designates Ekangas as an armed force. (*Ibid.*, 249). Dr. Farquhar's interpretation does not help. As regards Dr. Wilson's conjecture the only supporting factor is 'time'. Their mention by the chronicler in matters relating to the tenth century is a pointer. The Arabs had by this time invaded the regions lying to the N.W. of Kashmir. It is just possible that some 'Tatar' and 'Afghan' refugees of these regions had found their way into the valley as a result of these invasions, as the Kushans and the Huns had done long before and as Muslims came in the time of Kalhana and the Chaks later. Considering their physique and fighting qualities they seem to have been settled down in Kashmir and recruited among the local militia on military or police duties. King Harsha (1089-1101) recruited certain Muslims in his army

Sugandha's death marked the triumph of the Tantrins. Their supremacy lasted until 936 when they were ousted by the Damaras. They restored the legitimate king Chakravarman to the throne. But he proved to be a bad choice. He soon forsook them and played into the hands of Dombas, a low-caste people, who corrupted his morals.

Such a state of affairs could not be tolerated by the Damaras, who were sterner than the Tantrins. They succeeded in murdering the king in his bed-chamber. Then they placed Unmattavanti (937-39), son of Partha, on the throne. The new king proved to be the worst of the lot. This parricide got his father murdered, starved to death his half-brothers, and then took fiendish delight in killing men and women in a manner befitting a born savage.

V

The death of Unmattavanti, however, led to a struggle for power between Damaras, Ekangas and Tantrins on the one side and the party of the commander-in-chief Kamalavardhan, on the other. The military party emerged victorious. The crown lay at the feet of Kamalavardhan. But he hesitated to wear it. In an overcautious mood he approached the Assembly of Brahmans and asked them to decide who should be the king. He assumed that his election was a foregone conclusion since he had defeated the late king's party. But his calculations proved to be wrong. He lost his life's opportunity. The selfish and crafty Brahmans elected Yasaskara instead, because he happened to be the choice of the royalists also.

Yasaskara (939-48)

He was well educated and experienced. His self-imposed exile had matured his judgement but whetted his ambition. He was courageous and loved justice. He possessed charming manners and great diplomatic acumen. He succeeded in making himself the choice of the party in power, which strengthened the hands of the Brahman Assembly. As king

he established law and order after a long interval of disorder and oppression. He ruled with stern justice. All people engaged themselves in their respective peaceful and productive avocations. The peasants tilled lands, the Brahmans studied and taught. They gave up carrying arms and gave up drinking even on festive occasions. The ascetics did not marry. None locked doors of their houses, shops, etc., and travelling was rendered safe and secure because thievery and highway robbery had been put down with a stern hand.

Later on, even a king like Yasaskara fell a prey to avarice and lust. He died a tortuous death having been poisoned by his own ministers. The throne was usurped by Parvagupta, the ambitious minister of Unmattavanti. But he died within a year and a half, and was succeeded by his son Ksemagupta. The latter's marriage with Didda, the daughter of Raja Simharaja of Punch, transferred the sovereignty of Kashmir to the Punch family, and established the Lohara dynasty of rulers.

Queen Didda was the grand-daughter of King Bhima Sahi of Ohind. She was a woman of superb political sagacity and adventure. Under her father she had received ample training in diplomacy and statesmanship. Perhaps her faults were greater. She was extremely sensuous and ambitious. Ksemagupta (950-58) remained entirely under her influence. At his death all power was seized by her. She acted as regent to her son Abhimanyu (958-72), and at his death of his minor son Nandigupta (972-73). Then suddenly a change overtook her. She became remorseful, spent her time in prayer and founded religious endowments. Her name survives in Diddamar, an extant mohalla in Srinagar.

But the change was only a passing phase! Soon her real nature reasserted itself. In her lust for power she contrived the death of her wards, Nandigupta and his brother. Then she bestowed her favours upon Tunga, originally a buffaloherd of Punch. Adversity had driven him to Kashmir along with his five brothers. Here he obtained employment as a letter-carrier. But he was a well-built, robust young man.

And the queen became infatuated when by chance she saw him. She took him under her shelter and gradually he rose to be her Prime Minister. With Tunga and his five brothers as her pillars of strength, Didda boldly proclaimed herself sovereign; and reigned as an autocrat for 23 years (980-1003). Her subjects revolted against her government, the Brahmans resorted to hunger-strikes in order to coerce her. But the crafty queen managed to put down all opposition using bribery or diplomacy, whichever suited the occasion.

Strong at home she became stronger abroad. Her influence was at its height when Tunga gained a victory over Prithvipala, the powerful Raja of Rajauri. In her life-time she proclaimed her nephew Sangramaraja, no doubt a capable prince, her successor.

VI

THE LOHARA DYNASTY

Samgramaraja: (*1003-28*)

The eleventh century ushers in a round of unceasing Turkish invasions upon Hindu kingdoms in northern India. The repeated invasions of Sabuktagin and his redoubtable son Mahmud of Ghazni spread much chaos and confusion that changed the course of Indian history fundamentally.

Mahmud had included Kashmir in the scheme of his Indian campaigns with a view to punishing Sangramaraja who was related to and ally of the Sahi Trilocanapala.[37] To quote Utbi,[38] 'no part of Hind remained unconquered except Kashmir, (and) he (Mahmud) resolved on an expedition to that country.'

Mahmud invaded Kashmir twice from the Punjab.[39] He made his first attack in 1015. He marched from Jehlam

37. Stein's Note, *Rajat,* VII, 47-69. Sir Wolesley Haig wrongly calls him 'Jaipal'. (Haig, *Cambridge History India,* III, p. 17)

38. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India,* II, p. 41

39. Nazim, *op. cit.,* pp. 104-5 and note 41 *infra*

along the valley of the Punch Tawi[40] in order to penetrate into the Kashmir valley from the Tosamaidan[41] pass. His progress was checked at the hill-fort of Lohkot[42], which he invested. But his communication was cut off by a heavy snow-fall. Still he persisted for a month. At last he was compelled to raise the siege, and retired.[43]

Mahmud invaded Kashmir for the second time in September-October 1021. This time, too, he took the same route and again invested the same fort of Lohkot for one month. But in the meantime severe winter set in and reduced his troops to a state of utter helplessness and misery. Again he was compelled to raise the siege in utter despair, and finally abandoned the idea of conquering Kashmir.[44]

Ananta (1028-63)

As a result of Sultan Mahmud's utter disappointment Sangramaraja lived a proud, happy man for several years. He died in 1028, leaving behind two sons. Hari Raja, the elder, succeeded to the throne. But he died after 22 days,

40. *Rajat,* VII, 53; Alberuni, *India,* I, 317; Buhler, *Report,* p. 3

41. Tosamaidan Pass (Lat. 33° 53′, Long. 74° 27′) is crossed by the most direct path between Srinagar and Punch. The passage to the pass commences on the Kashmir side by a steep ascent of about three miles from village Drang. On reaching the plain the path becomes a gradual slope. The lower part of the valley is called Wattadar. The manifest advantages offered by this pass to an army invading Kashmir were appreciated by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, who in 1814 attempted, like his great predecessor Mahmud of Ghazni, to carry the pass, but was defeated by Azim Khan, the Pathan governor of Kashmir. The pass is closed by the first fall of snow until June. (Bates, *Gazetteer*, pp. 388-89; Stein, *Anc. Geog.* para 49; Stein, note E *Rajat*, II, 293-300)

42. Lohkot or Loharin (Lat. 33° 48′, Long. 74° 23′) was the broadest and best cultivated part in Punch. The famous castle of Lohara which played an important part in the medieval history of Kashmir also stood here. The valley of Loharin offers a series of excellent defensive positions which would serve as natural impregnable fortifications for an enemy not possessed of modern equipment of war. (Stein, note E, *Rajat*, II, 293-99)

43. Nazim, *op. cit.*, p. 105

44. *Ibid.*

having been murdered by the agents of his licentious mother Srilekha. Then she attempted to wear the crown herself, but could not succeed. She was, however, allowed to act as the guardian of her minor son Ananta.

The early period of Ananta's reign was not a bed of roses. He had to put down a powerful revolt of the Damaras who were supported by the commander-in-chief. Then he had to face the combined attack of the Rajas of Punch and Chamba. This was not all. The chief of Dardistan also made an invasion. But Ananta triumphed over all. His success was due to his personal courage and the loyal support he received from the Sahi princes, who were then living as refugees in Kashmir, having been driven so far by Mahmud of Ghazni. Before long, however, his political distractions, extravagant habits and weak character involved Ananta in great financial difficulties. But the resourceful queen, Suryamati, and the loyal Prime Minister, Haladara, saved the situation.

Kalasa (1063-89)

Soon, however, the weak character of the king compelled him to abdicate in favour of his son Kalasa. But the son proved worse than the father. Kalasa's loose character and enmity towards parents afflicted his father so much that he found relief in death. He committed suicide and Suryamati died a sati.

The tragic death of his parents had a moralising effect on Kalasa. He became remorseful and employed his time and energies in religious pursuits and service of his subjects. It gave him abundance of moral strength. He was able to reduce to submission eight of the adjoining hill-states of Hazara, Chamba, Ballavar, Rajauri, Punch, Bhadarwah and Kishtwar. The defeated chiefs of these states presented themselves at Srinagar to swear fealty[45] to him. But the closing years of his life were marred by the reckless conduct of his son Harsha. Thereafter Kalasa never regained

45. *Rajat*, VII, 588-90 and Stein's note

peace of mind. He was almost mad with sorrow and indulged in debauchery. So he died in 1089, after nominating Utkarsha, his second son, successor to the throne.

Harsha (1089-1101)

But Utkarsha was both foolish and miserly. His subjects turned against him. There was mass discontent followed by open rebellion. He was deposed and imprisoned and Harsha was proclaimed king.

Harsha appears to be the most striking figure amongst the later Hindu rulers of Kashmir. Gifted with talent, at the same time extremely foolish and of an unsound mind, Harsha combined cruelty with kindness and liberality with greed. Like a well-meaning king he set up bells of justice, some five centuries before Emperor Jahangir, in the four corners of the palace to deal prompt and even-handed justice. To decrease crimes he used punishments like cutting off ears and noses of criminals[46] so that they could not conceal their identity in future. He maintained a splendid court, introduced gold coins[47], and employed Turks to train his troops. He also introduced their fashions of dress and ornaments. These innovations[48] suggest that Muslim culture had infiltrated into the valley more than two centuries before the establishment of Muslim rule.

But to all intents and purposes Harsha's methods and manners were those of a mad man. He engaged Turkish slave girls and under their influence he disported himself even with his sisters, father's sisters and father's concubines.[49] Soon however he was gripped by financial difficulties, and freely robbed temples and religious endowments of their riches to fill the treasury. It exposed him to public odium and rebellion followed. He found safety in escape, but he was arrested and died in tragic circumstances.[50]

46. *Ibid.*, VII, 892
47. *Ibid.*, 926; Cunningham, *Coins of Med. India*, p. 34
48. *Ibid.*, 928-31, 923-24 and Stein's note
49. *Ibid.*, 1147-48
50. *Ibid.*, 1700 et sq

Last Phase of Hindu Rule (1101-1320)

During this period conditions in Northern India were tremendously upset by the repeated Turkish invasions which led to the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate by Sultan Muhammad Ghori. Kashmir could not escape the repercussions of times. She lost control over the neighbouring hill-states. The local forces seized the opportunity to re-assert themselves. There ensued a long period of intrigue, assassination and internecine warfare from which the country was relieved by two brothers, Uccala and Sussala, who seized the throne with the help of Damara chiefs.[51] Having usurped all power and wealth they lived in their fortified castles like the Barons of England.

Uccala, who first usurped the throne, was an adroit statesman. He manifested great love for his subjects and to afford them a period of respite, laid his hold on Damaras and Kayasthas who were sworn enemies of public peace. To secure himself and the state from Sussala's intrigue, he appointed him governor of Punch. By fomenting division among the Damaras he compelled them into submission. The Kayasthas, on the other hand, were eager to kill, to do all sorts of evil and rob others property.[52] He took drastic steps against them, but ultimately himself fell a victim to their conspiracy.

Uccala was succeeded by his brother Sussala, who reigned for 17 years (1111-28). The turbulent Damaras having proved too strong for him, assassinated him in 1128, and placed his son Jayasimha on the throne.

Jayasimha (1128-55)

Jayasimha is the last known Hindu ruler of Kashmir, who actually possessed considerable political acumen,

51. These feudal lords of Kashmir had usurped all power in their fortified castles (Upavesana)—(*Rajat*, VII, 1254; VIII, 648, 929, 1124, etc.) To modern Kashmiris they survive in the term *Kottaraja* or feudal chiefs. (Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 185)

52. *Rajat*, VIII, 85-122

unscrupulous intrigue and cunning diplomacy. When he ascended the throne the political atmosphere was tense with opposition. His father's murderers were still at large. The treasury was empty and public resources were almost exhausted. Worse still the Damaras had regained their strength and dominance. Gradually, however, he was able to restore order. His enemies having failed to reassert themselves locally, created trouble in Punch and Karna. The trouble in Karna proved dangerous. Here the Dards and Damaras, well known for mischief and trouble, organised themselves against him under their leader Alamcara Cakra[53], the powerful chief of the upper Kishanganga valley. Alamcara supported the cause of Lothna and Bhoja and tried to raise them as pretenders to the throne. But the plot misfired and Jayasimha was able to reestablish peace and order in the state. Then he proclaimed his eldest son Gulhana, who was governor of Punch, heir to the throne. Jayasimha died in 1155.

The End

For about 165 years after the death of Jayasimha Kashmir continued to remain an independent Hindu state although in name only. She escaped the Turkish conquest and occupation because the mighty Himalayan and Hindukush mountain rims surrounding her threatened the Turks, reminding them of the fate met by the mighty conqueror Mahmud of Ghazni twice, in 1015 and 1021. At the same time, the incessant and devastating aggressions of the Mongols upon Northern India diverted the attention of the Turkish Sultans of Delhi from Kashmir.

During this period (1155-1319), according to Jonaraja[54] eleven kings occupied the throne of Kashmir. They were

53. *Ibid.*, 2482 sqq.

54. They are (i) Parmamuka (1155-64); (ii) Vertideva (1164-71); (iii) Vepayadeva (1171-80); (iv) Jassaka (1180-98); (v) Jayadeva (1198-1213); (vi) Rajadeva (1213-36); (vii) Samgramadeva (1236-52); (viii) Ramadeva (1252-73); (ix) Lakshmanadeva (1273-86); (x) Simhadeva (1286-1301); (xi) Sahadeva (1301-20)—Jonaraja (Dutt), pp. 4-17

generally weak, helpless and ever at the mercy of their *Kottarajas*, who were a selfish, visionless, grasping, undependable, disloyal and unpatriotic people. Like their fathers they too opposed a strong, capable and self-asserting king, who could establish law and order in the country and strengthen her both internally and externally. They asserted their independence and spread lawlessness and chaos which disrupted society, reduced the economy of the state to smithereens, and brought law and order to a standstill. At the beginning of the fourteenth century everything pointed to the collapse of the Hindu state and the Mongol invasion led by Dulacha in 1320 shattered for ever the myth that Kashmir was invincible.

CHAPTER THREE

Kashmir Becomes A Muslim State

I

THE MONGOL INVASION

BY THE BEGINNING of the fourteenth century Northern India had passed under the military regime of Alauddin Khalji (1296-1316). His army penetrated into the remotest part of India in the south with amazing success; and his kingdom extended from the borders of Kashmir up to Rameswaram. But he did not invade Kashmir. Perhaps the fate of Mahmud of Ghazni discouraged him. Nevertheless, Kashmir was invaded, crushed and tortured by Mongol hooligans. It happened in the reign of Sahadeva (1301-20).

Raja Sahadeva had succeeded his elder brother Simhadeva (1286-1301) when he was assassinated by one of his ministers.[1] Because he had abandoned himself to a life of dissipation and ease and neglected his public duties, the people were left in utter distress.

But Sahadeva, though a coward by nature, appears to have been circumspective. He knew what had brought about the tragic end of his brother, and he was anxious to avoid such a fate.[2] He determined to establish law and order and to make people happy. He appointed Ram Chand, then the most powerful and influential feudal-lord (*Kottaraja*) of the Lar valley,[3] his Chief Minister. The two had only

1. Jonaraja, p. 14

2. *Ibid.*

3. Lar is a parganah comprising the western side of the Sind valley. It is the ancient 'Lahara'. (Bates, *Gazetteer*, p. 256; Stein, *Anc. Geog.*, para 12)

started to implement their policy when the country fell an easy prey to Mongol horsemen led by Dulacha[4] in 1320.[5]

Who were these Mongols? Originally they belonged to the bare and bleak Mongolian plateau. The barrenness of their country had turned them into seasoned horsemen and, at the same time, a warlike but a savage and ferocious people. It had brought them into conflict with other peoples and tribes. And as far as Northern India was concerned, their aggressions started in the time of Chingiz Khan (1162-1227). Although he never crossed the Indus himself, yet some of his followers penetrated into the Punjab in pursuit of Jalaluddin Mangbarni (1220-31), the last king of Khiva, in 1221.

Now they began to hover over the northern frontier of India during the reign of Iltutmish (1211-36). Lahore fell

4. Jonaraja records: 'In the year Laukika 4389, in the Saka era 1235, Dulacha, the commander-in-chief of the army of the King of Karmasena (Khwarazm) came to (invaded) Kashmir, just as a lion comes into the cave of the deer.' (Jonaraja (text), 148-52; Jonaraja (Dutt), p. 16). Jonaraja calls the invader 'Dulacha' and adds the title 'Turashka', i.e. Turk or Mongol. (Jonaraja (text), 142 sqq., 165; *Indian Antiquary*, July 1908, p. 182 note 6; Stein, *Rajat*, II, p. 408). Abul Fazl mentions him as 'Dalju' (Dalchu), the chief commander of the King of Kandahar. (*Ain* (Blockman) (text), III, p. 582; *Ain* (Jarrett), II, p. 386; Firishta (Luck text) p. 388). In all the Persian chronicles of Kashmir, excepting the *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, his name occurs as Dulachu: *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 23. *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* (Rampur Ms.), p. 125, *Tarikh-i-Narayan Kaul*, p. 249; the *Baharistan* records; 'In the reign of Sahadev there occurred the disturbance caused by Dulacha.' (*Baharistan*, f.10a). Zulachu and Dulachu are Kashmiri variants. Locally the invader is still remembered as 'Dulachu'

5. Jonaraja records: 'Dulacha came after Laukika 4389 (Saka. 1235) i.e. 1313-14 A.D. (Jonaraja, p. 15). Further on he writes that Raja Sahadeva reigned for 19 years, 3 months and 25 days. (*Ibid.*, p. 19). Sahadeva had ascended the throne in 1301 (Laukika 4377). He was dispossessed of his throne as a result of the invasion of Dulacha. Obviously Dulacha had launched his attack on Kashmir in 1320. The Persian chroniclers of Kashmir record that 'Dulachu' invaded Kashmir in 724 A.H. (1323-24) in the early summer at the head of 17,000 horse and foot, entering the valley by the Baramulla route. Dr. Stein states that Dulacha entered the Kashmir valley from the Zoji-la pass, which route was also followed by Mirza Haidar Dughlat in 1532. (Stein, *Anc. Geog.*, para 58)

into their hands in 1241, and they harried Multan, Sind and Punjab. Balban (1266-86) punished them and routed them. In 1291, Jalaluddin Khalji (1290-96) repelled their intrusion; then he appeased them, and made them settle down in the neighbourhood of Delhi. That, of course, did not guarantee lasting peace. They repeated intrigue and disaster when they led fresh aggression in 1297, in the time of Alauddin Khalji under their leader Qutlugh Khwaja, and threatened northern India with disaster. They were, however, repulsed. But again they appeared in 1302 and devastated the Punjab and laid siege to Delhi. Then they quitted suddenly.

In all probability, some of them found their way to Kashmir led by Dulacha. And Kashmir was not unknown to them. In fact, she had been included in their schemes of conquests by Ogatay, the third son of Chingiz Khan, and afterwards by Halaku Khan.[6] Then she had escaped. Now they came so suddenly like a mighty human avalanche of 17,000 horse and foot entering the valley by the Baramulla pass. Kashmir was wrapped in slumber when their hooves thundered and awoke them. Raja Sahadeva and his government were paralysed with fright. And they thought that they could stave off ruin by compromise. So the Raja collected as many presents as he could and offered them to Dulacha as a gratification. But the latter vigorously spurned the offer. Instead the Mongols moved in a passion for wholesale destruction and annihilation.[7] Finally, scarcity of provisions and dread of the approaching winter compelled them to quit after eight months of vandalism. They carried with them a huge booty of men, women, animals and, in fact, all that fell into their hands.

Now, it appears, the political condition of the Delhi Sultanate tempted them to invade northern India and

6. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* (Raverty's translation), 1135n, 1191n; Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, III, pp. 184-85

7. Jonaraja (Dutt), pp. 17-18; *Baharistan*, ff. 11a and 11b; *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 23

pass the winter there. Delhi was in the throes of a civil war. Sultan Mubarak Shah (1316-20) was assassinated on 9 July 1320, and his successor Khusrau Khan ascended a very precarious throne. Therefore, Dulacha decided to reach Delhi as early as possible to take advantage of conditions there. He decided to return by the Jammu route because it was easier and shorter. But as soon as the Mongols reached the foothills near the Banihal pass they were suddenly caught by a blinding blizzard and very heavy snow-storm which destroyed all of them.[8]

II

RINCHAN

The Mongol invasion was not a mere episode. Its consequences were grave. It caused widespread anarchy and desolation and everything was topsy-turvy. Those who survived found themselves in the grip of terrific famine and social and economic disaster. Then the cowardly conduct of Raja Sahadeva and his ministers during the Mongol holocaust caused widespread opposition to his restoration.

At this time there were two foreigners living in the town. They had studied conditions in the country very closely. Unlike Kashmiris they possessed much political acumen and they were very daring. They were able to play a revolutionary role in the political and religious history of the country. They were Rinchan and Shahmir who had found their way into Kashmir in the reign of Raja Sahadeva.

Rinchan was a 'Bhautta' prince. He came to Kashmir as a political refugee from Ladakh. In order to appreciate the circumstances which had compelled him to quit his

8. Jonaraja states that Dulacha, afraid of the excessive cold of Kashmir, went out by a good military road accompanied by strong men from the country. (Jonaraja, pp. 17-18). According to Abul Fazl, 'he withdrew dreading the severity of the weather, and many of his troops perished in the snow'. (*Ain* (Jarrett), II, p. 336); *Baharistan*, ff. 11a and 11b; *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 23

home, it will be interesting to know something about the political conditions of Ladakh at the time.[9]

The valleys and table-lands, situated on the high altitudes beyond the mountain ranges lying to the north and north-east of Kashmir between the headwaters of the Kishanganga and the Dras rivers, are inhabited by people of Tibetan race and culture. They are called Bhauttas.[10] In ancient times these regions were divided into Little and Great Bhauta-land,[11] by which is meant the modern districts of Ladakh and Baltistan respectively. Their political condition since the rise of the Mongol domination[12] was far from satisfactory. Chingiz Khan (1162-1227) conquered Tibet in 1203. Then Kublai Khan (1260-94), the great Mongol emperor of China, extended his sway over them. He included them in his great census.[13] During the reign of Kublai Khan Lha-Chen-Jo-Dpal (1260-93), a native chief was appointed viceroy of these districts. He was good and well-meaning, and performed his duties satisfactorily.[14] On his death he was succeeded by his son Lha-Chen-Dngos-Grub (1290-1320), who revived Buddhist monastic system and repaired Buddhist temples.[15] He had not completed his scheme of reviving Buddhism in these districts when the news of the death of Kublai Khan caused a setback.

At the death of Kublai Khan, local disruptive forces raised their ugly head. They began to gather strength to such an extent that by the beginning of the fourteenth century they spread lawlessness and chaos everywhere. Such a condition encouraged the tribal chiefs to assert their independence. There was regular warfare, one chief fighting

9. Jonaraja (text), 157-254 and Dutt's translation, pp. 16-23; Dr. Francke, *Anti-Ind. Tibet*, II, pp. 97 sqq; *Ind. Ant.*, 1908, pp. 181 sqq. & 1909, pp. 57-60

10. Stein's note, *Rajat*, I, 312

11. Stein, *Anc. Geog.*, para 84; Yule, *Cathay*, p. lxx

12. *JASB*, 1904, (Ext. No.), p. 99; *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), pp. 30n, 34, 36

13. *JASB*, *Ibid.*; Francke, *Ant. Ind. Tibet*, II, 97

14. Francke, *Ibid.*

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98

against the other, till only two of them stood out. They were the 'Kalamanyas'[16] and the 'Vakatanyas', who are familiar to us as Baltis and Ladakhis respectively. The Vakatanyas (Ladakhis) were led by the ruling chief Lha-Chen-Dngos-Grub, who was murdered by the Kalamanyas (Baltis). He was the father of Lha-Chen-Rgyalbu Rinchan.[17] Rinchana or Rinchana Bhautta of Kashmir history was a hardy youth of great energy and drive and gifted with uncommon intellect; he was able to avenge the murder of his father. Soon, however, he found that his own life was in grave danger. To save himself he took to flight and sought refuge in Kashmir.[18]

Rinchan entered Kashmir from the Zoji-la pass. Since ancient times this route has been the direct route connecting

16. Jonaraja states that the *Kalamanyas* and the *Vakatanyas* were rival factions; the former had murdered the chief of the latter who was the father of Rinchan. (Jonaraja (text) 157-58). According to Dr. Francke, the *Kalamanyas* were the inhabitants of Parkuda (Parkutta), situated at a distance of 34 miles from Skardu. (*Anti-Indian Tibet*, II, p. 98; Drew, *Jummoo*, p. 531.) At another place he identifies them with 'Men of Kharmang', the capital of the tribe of Baltis. He associates *Vakatanyas* with Vaka, which is situated near Mulbe. It was held by the Ladakhi chiefs. (*Ind. Ant.*, July 1908, p. 187)

17. We have three factors in support of this: In the first place both in the Ladakhi records and the chronicle of Jonaraja, Rinchan is mentioned as a prince. [Jonaraja (text) 157-58; *Ind. Ant.* July 1908, pp. 181-87]. Secondly, the two names are identical. Thirdly, there is the coincidence of time. The two authorities, however, differ in respect of the prince's conduct. Jonaraja mentions him as the murderer of the assassins of his father which act compelled him to escape to Kashmir for refuge. According to Ladakhi records, Rinchan only stepped into the seat of his father at his death in 1320. The traditional Ladakhi song of the 'Bodro Masjid', which speaks of Bulbul Shah at whose hands Rinchan accepted Islam, supports our view. For the song, see *Ind. Ant.*, 1909, pp. 57-58; *Ant-Ind. Tibet*, II, 98)

18. Jonaraja, p. 17. Abul Fazl's statement that 'Rinchan', the son of the ruler of Tibet, invaded the country which was reduced to great distress, is like putting the cart before the horse. (*Ain* (Jarrett), II, p. 386.) The author of the *Baharistan* as well as Haidar Malik reproduce Jonaraja. (*Baharistan*, f. 10a; *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 23.) Azam says he was exiled. (*Tarikh-i-Azam* (Ms.), p. 22). Sir Walter Lawrence's statement has no credit. (Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 189)

Kashmir with Ladakh[19] and thence with Tibet, China and Central Asia. Rinchan settled down in Gagangir. It is the first extant village we come across in the Lar valley after crossing the valley of Sonamarg at Durun Nar.[20] Here stood the castle of Ram Chand, Chief Minister and Commander-in-Chief of Raja Sahadeva. Ram Chand received him kindly and gave him both shelter and employment.[21] Here Rinchan met Shahmir, who appears to have reached there before him. Destiny or adversity united them to make history. Both had been eye-witnesses to the wholesale destruction and chaos caused by the Mongols. They had also seen the irresponsible and cowardly conduct of the government. At the very sight of the Mongols the Raja and the ministers had escaped for personal safety and the Commander-in-Chief had closed himself up in his castle. And the people acted like a herd of cattle cowardly, spineless and timid.

Rinchan's Rebellion

Such a situation naturally offered a tempting opportunity for the bold and crafty Rinchan to become the king. In the absence of Raja Sahadeva he found Ram Chand the only strong rival to the throne. Rinchan used duplicity with him. He served him loyally. He did all his jobs. And he took all pains to resettle the uprooted population. Thus he was able to gain confidence of his master and gratitude of the people. So he was able to collect some trusted Bhautta soldiers inside the castle without causing any suspicion.[22] On a favourable opportunity after the departure of the Mongols he killed Ram Chand and immediately proclaimed himself king of Kashmir on 6 October 1320.[23] The Hindus as a

19. Stein, *Anc. Geog.*, para 58

20. *Ibid.* Mirza Haidar Dughlat also invaded Kashmir in 1532 coming by the same route. (*Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, E&R, p. 423)

21. Jonaraja, p. 17

22. *Ibid.*

23. According to Jonaraja, Rinchan died on the 11th Lunar day of the month of Pausa (Poh) in the Laukika era (43)99, after a reign of three years, one month and nineteen days. (Jonaraja (text) 253-54). That is to

whole seemed so much demoralised and dispirited socially, culturally and administratively that they accepted anyone who could usurp the throne and be their king. They simply looked on unconcernedly.

III

The advent of Rinchan marks the birth of a new and revolutionary order in the history of Kashmir. He knew what he had to do as king. He must establish peace and order amidst widespread confusion and chaos. He must heal the wounds inflicted by the Mongols. But this could not possibly be easily done so long as Ram Chand's children were there, his bitter rivals. They were Kota Rani and Rawan Chand, his daughter and son. Rinchan did not fight with them nor kill them. He treated them with utmost consideration. He married Kota Rani[24] and appointed Rawan Chand[25] to his father's post of commander-in-chief. He offered the post of Vazir to Shahmir.[26] Now he fell upon the Lavanyas.[27] They were an ancient, indigenous agriculturist community. But they were notorious for mischief and delighted in war. He broke their strength, scattered them and 'gave rest to the land weary of trouble and disorder'.[28] Once more the people celebrated their festivals as before.

Rinchan was intensely interested in the welfare of his subjects. He spared none, 'whether son, minister or friend', who interfered with justice. His reign was a 'golden age'.[29]

Rinchan Accepts Islam

Even after establishing peace and order in the country Rinchan did not feel secure. It appears that he was anxious

say he died on 25 November 1323 which helps us to fix 6 October 1320 as the date of his accession

24. Jonaraja, p. 18
25. *Baharistan*, f. 12a
26. *Ain* (Jarrett), II, p. 386
27. Jonaraja, p. 19. For 'Lavanyas', now known as 'Lons', see *Rajat*, VII, 1171 and Stein's note; Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 306
28. Jonaraja, pp. 19-20
29. *Ibid.*

to remove the stigma that he had gained the throne by fraud. Therefore he made an attempt to identify himself with the country and the people, to understand and follow their customs, religion and traditions, as one of them. To begin with, he expressed a desire to follow the Saiva cult because it was the most popular form of Hindu religion. No doubt a man like him could not have any strong convictions of his own. In all probability, he wanted to make himself strong both politically and religiously. He approached Devaswami who was the head *guru* of the Saiva Hindus and entreated him to admit him among his devotees. Devaswami appears to have been very headstrong and one without imagination. He turned down his request with disdain; being a Bhautta he would not be a proper recipient.[30]

No doubt a great diplomat and adventurer—considering those times—Rinchan, Buddhist that he was, failed to buy the status of a Brahman peacefully, although there existed very small difference between Buddhism and Brahmanism in Kashmir then. He was refused because tradition-bound, visionless and unaccommodating Brahman chief priest (Devaswami) would not get the caste 'polluted' although he is responsible for getting it destroyed subsequently.

Hindu Kashmir lost its golden opportunity for ever, but Shahmir made full use of it. Finding Rinchan in a state of confusion, he consoled him, pleaded with him and prepared him to leave the decision to chance. It was agreed that he would adopt the religion of the person whom he would first see next morning. By sheer accident or manipulation, it so happened that Rinchan's eyes fell on Bulbul Shah, a Muslim fakir. So he became a Muslim[31] and adopted the name Sultan Sadruddin.

Rinchan Shah is the first Muslim ruler[32] of Kashmir. But

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21

31. The circumstances leading to his conversion are differently related (See Appendix C)

32. *Baharistan*, f. 15a

he did not live long after his conversion. During a couple of years that he survived he behaved like a good Muslim. He founded Rinchanapura,[33] a quarter in Srinagar after his own name. Here he built a mosque, the first mosque in Kashmir, known as 'Bud Masheed'[34] on the site of a Buddhist temple. Not very far from here he built another mosque and established a *langarkhana* (public charity kitchen) at Ali Kadal, in Srinagar, which became familiar later on as Bulbul Langar, in the memory of his religious mentor Bulbul Shah. He named his only son, born to him from his Hindu wife Kota Rani, by the Muslim name Haidar,[35] and entrusted him to the care of Shahmir.

All that Rinchan accomplished as an individual or as king was a revolution; and he made more enemies than friends. People rose against him led by Udayanadeva, a cousin of the late King Sahadeva. He was attacked and

33. Jonaraja, p. 23

34. The Buddhist shrine which originally occupied this site was called Tsitsung Tsublak Kang. The Buddhists of Ladakh visited the site as pilgrims long after the construction of the mosque. (Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 291.). That this site was originally a Buddhist shrine is supported by Ladakhi traditions. According to these traditions the 'Masjid' below the castle hill of Srinagar which is still known as 'Bodro Masjid' was formerly a Buddhist temple. This was shown by the white-wash on the walls behind which the pictures of Buddhist saints were found. (*Ind. Ant.*, July 1908, p. 192). The Ladakhi 'Song of the Bodro Masjid' speaks of the great saint Bulbul Shah as king's friend. (Francke, *Anti-Indi. Tibet*, II, p. 98.) 'Bodro Masjid' of the Ladakhis still survives in the 'Raintan Masheed' by which name the mosque is known to the Kashmiris. According to Dr. Francke, 'The Persian history of Kashmir by Haidar Malik contains a translation of a lost inscription by Rinchan in his mosque.' (Francke, *Ibid.*). The two manuscripts of Haidar Malik's history, one in the Research Library, Srinagar, and the other in the Public Library, Srinagar, do not make any mention of this inscription or translation thereof. The extant inscription on the southern main gate of the Jama Masjid does not mention that the mosque was originally built by Rinchan. There it is attributed to Sikandar. Rinchan's mosque, in all probability, appears to be the Raintan Masjid, and not the Jama Masjid

35. Jonaraja (text), p. 247

wounded, and he died on 25 November 1323.[36] He was buried at Bulbul Langar,[37] beside the tomb of Bulbul Shah.

IV

THE RESTORATION

Rinchan's death in 1323 let loose three political parties to scramble for power. They were the royalists, the agriculturists and the Rani's party. The royalists were led by Udayanadeva who had caused the death of Rinchan. The agriculturists led by their landlords (*kottarajas*) were not keen to run the government themselves. They supported Shahmir. Kota Rani's party upheld the cause of the minor prince Haidar. Her main support were the Lavanyas,[38] who were undependable in politics.

In this triangular contest Shahmir was the centre of gravity. An astute diplomat, determined to revolutionise the social, cultural and political condition of the country, he considered the time too early to make a bid for the

36. According to Jonaraja, Rinchan died on the 11th lunar day of the month of Pausha (Poh) in the year (43)99, after a reign of 3 years, 1 month and 19 days. (Jonaraja (text), 253-54; Dutt's trans., p. 23). This date rendered into Christian era comes to 25 November 1323. The Persian chroniclers give the year 727 A.H. (1326) allotting only two years and six months to his reign, which is unconvincing

37. His tomb in Mohalla Bulbul Langar lies to the west of Bulbul Shah's mosque at a distance of about one hundred yards. The enclosure is 6×6 yards. It is walled with pacca masonary and there hangs a tablet on which the State Archaeology Department has put up the following notice: 'Traditionally supposed tomb of Sultan Sadr-ud-din *alias* Rinchan Shah, a Tibetan refugee who invaded Kashmir and murdered Ram Chand, the Hindu ruler of Kashmir; and usurped his throne; embraced Islam; was the first Muslim ruler of Kashmir, reigned for two years and seven months, 1319-22'. (*Kashmir Archaeology*). Unfortunately, this notice has not been put up after thoroughly sifting all the relevant material on the subject. It is contradiction in terms. In the first instance Rinchan never invaded Kashmir. Secondly, Ram Chand was never proclaimed King of Kashmir. Thirdly, Rinchan did not reign for two years and seven months only. A refugee cannot, at the same time, be an invader also

38. Jonaraja, p. 27, also note 27 *supra*

throne himself. To prepare the ground for establishing Muslim rule he rightly believed that the successor to Rinchan should be one who has majority support and, at the same time, should be so weak that he could be controlled and dominated.

These conditions were satisfied by Udayanadeva alone. Therefore, Shahmir offered the throne to him in preference to prince Haidar or Kota Rani who had a stronger claim as Rinchan's legal heirs. To weaken the Rani's party further he negotiated marriage between Raja Udayanadeva and Kota Rani. So he restored the Hindu rule. It gained him popular applause and proved the basis of his political achievement in future.

Raja Udayanadeva was ultra-religious, weak-minded and very conservative. He spent his time in bathing, penance and prayer. He dressed like an ascetic and while travelling tied bells to his horses[39] to avoid injury or death to any living being. He did not perform his kingly duties at all. He delegated them to Kota Rani.

Unlike Udayanadeva Kota Rani was afraid of Shahmir's growing popularity and prestige. To divide his strength she sent away his two sons, Jamshed and Alisher, to administer the northern district of Kamraj.[40] Then she selected Bhatta Bhikshana,[41] a Brahman of great sagacity, diplomacy and tact, as her adviser and commander of the state forces. She also appointed him guardian of her second son by Udayanadeva. While she was endeavouring to restore the prestige of Hindu rule there took place a second Mongol invasion led by Achala.[42]

39. *Ibid.*, p. 24

40. *Ibid.* Kamraj is the ancient Kramaraja (Kash, Kamraz), now the northern territorial district of Baramulla: *Ain* (Jarrett), II, p. 368; Stein, *Anc. Geog.*, para 85

41. Jonaraja, p. 28. The Persian chroniclers name him 'Pachha Bhatta' of Kakapur, a village lying to the south of Srinagar

42. Achala, according to Jonaraja, was supplied with soldiers by the Lord of Mughdhapuru (Mughalpur ?) and forcibly entered Kashmir like another 'Dulacha'. (Jonaraja, p. 25). The Persian chroniclers call him 'Urwan', a Turk, who entered Kashmir *via* Hirapur. We are tempted to

At the very sight of the enemy, Udayanadeva fled like a coward to Ladakh leaving behind his family and his subjects to their fate. His conduct chagrined Kota Rani but like a brave woman she rose equal to the occasion. Having witnessed the destruction and death lately caused by the followers of Dulacha she determined to avoid that catastrophe. Like a gallant, patriotic woman she enthused her subjects and also enlisted the help of Shahmir and his supporters. She realised that only by offering united opposition they would be able to defeat the enemy, save the country from chaos and establish peace. So it happened. Kota Rani and Shahmir assembled their forces and those of the *Kottarajas* and offered battle to the invaders. They triumphed and saved the country.

In a national crisis like this Shahmir played a dignified role. He completely identified himself with the cause of the country and the people, and enlisted the support of the powerful zamindars to the service of the country.

After the enemy was gone, Udayanadeva was recalled and restored to the throne. The decision did not find popular support. He had rendered himself unpopular by his cowardly conduct. On the other hand, Shahmir had come out a national hero. Now he made no secret of his future schemes. He fortified himself on the Chakdar[43] hill. As a rehearsal of the drama he was meditating to stage, he set up Haidar, the minor son of Rinchan, against the government of his mother. Such was the state of affairs when Raja Udayana-

identify Mughdapuru of Jonaraja with 'Mughalpur'. It is likely that the invader was some Turco-Mongol soldier of fortune who appears to have been employed on this errand by some Muhammadan chief of Punjab or Delhi. Since we are told that Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq (1324-39), a contemporary of Raja Udayanadeva of Kashmir (1323-39), had also commissioned the famous Khalifa Maulana Shams-ud-din of Delhi to go to Kashmir to convert her idolaters to Islam. (Abdul Haq, *Akbar-ul-Akhyar*, p. 97)

43. Jonaraja, p. 27. Chakdar is a conspicuous but isolated alluvial plateau situated to the south of Srinagar. (Stein, *Rajat*, II, pp. 461-62)

deva died in February 1339.[44]

Kota Rani did not break the news of his death to Shahmir lest he might seize power on behalf of Haider. She also discarded her second son by Udayanadeva for he was still a minor. She shifted her residence to the fortified castle of Indarkot.[45] Here she proclaimed herself ruler with the support of Bhatta Bhikshana and the Lavanyas.

To all intents and purposes, she threw a challenge to Shahmir. And Shahmir feared Bhatta Bhikshana alone. So long as the Bhatta lived he had to contest with a powerful rival. Soon he succeeded to murder him.[46] The incident alarmed the people, and they threw in their lot with Kota Rani. But she failed to take full advantage of the situation. Strong as she was she did not arrest Shahmir there and then. She was misguided by her ministers who were in reality in the pay of Shahmir.[47] She lost her life's opportunity. It was now for Shahmir to play his part. He immediately besieged her in her fort at Indarkot. She resisted his advance fighting gallantly, but was overpowered

44. According to Jonaraja, he died on the Shivratri night on the 13th lunar day in the Laukika year (44)14. (Jonaraja, p. 28). This date corresponds to February 1338-39. There is disagreement on this point among Persian chroniclers. Abul Fazl and Nizam-ud-din state that the Raja died in 1341 and 1346 respectively. (*Ain* (Jarrett), II, p. 387, and *Tabaqat* (*Bib. Ind.*), III, p. 423). Sir W. Haig follows Nizam-ud-din. (*JRAS*, 1918, p. 452 and *Encyl. Islam.*, IV, part one, p. 258). According to Persian chroniclers of Kashmir, he died in 742 A.H. (1341-42) after a reign of 15 years, 2 months and 2 days. Jonaraja does not give the total duration of his reign. As already stated the Raja ascended the throne on 11th Poh 4399 (Laukika) and died on 13th Phagon 4414 (Laukika). This clearly leaves 15 years 2 months and 2 days as the total period of his reign which has been accepted by the Persian chroniclers. So the date quoted by them is unacceptable. Dr. Stein, who studied the Sanskrit chronicles of Kashmir, accepts 1339 as the date when Shahmir occupied the throne of Kashmir. (Stein, *Rajat*, Intro., p. 130)

45. Jonaraja names the place by its ancient name Jayapidapura. (Jonaraja p. 31). For Jayapidapura or Jayapur which became Indarkot under the Muslims, see Stein, *Rajat*, IV, 506-11 and note. Indarkot is a picturesque site overlooking the Manasbal lake. Locally it is called Safapor

46. Jonaraja, p. 29

47. *Ibid.*

and she capitulated. The crisis caused a tremendous transformation, politically as well as culturally. To avoid massacre of her supporters she accepted his conditions. She agreed to be his queen and to share the throne with him.[48] They married. But within 24 hours she disappeared for ever.

According to Jonaraja,[49] she 'was won by his assiduity'; and within 24 hours of the marriage, Shahmir 'caused her to be captured by the Tikshanas, and on the tenth bright lunar day, in the month of Shravana (Savan) in the year (44) 15, the queen dropped from her kingdom'. According to Abul Fazl,[50] Shahmir, by specious flattery and intrigue, married Udayanadev's widow. The Persian[51] chroniclers of Kashmir state that the two married, but when she entered the bridal chamber she thrust a dagger into her belly uttering the words, 'This is my acceptance'; then she breathed her last.

This was the fate of the last Hindu sovereign of Kashmir. She rose like a star but disappeared like a shooting star. In fact, Kota Rani's life was one long struggle between ambition and vicissitudes of fortune. She started her career as a worldlywise lady when she accepted the murderer of her father as her husband. She remained satisfied with him even though he embraced Islam. On his death she subdued her feelings of both widowhood and motherhood and agreed to become the wife of Udayanadeva, a devoted but effeminate husband. She dominated and herself held the reins of government during his nominal reign of 15 years. Her ambition for power was fully realised after his death when she proclaimed herself sovereign. Later on when she

48. *Ibid.*

49. *Ibid.*

50. *Ain* (Jarrett), II, 386

51. According to *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, Shahmir having overpowered the Rani in her castle in Indarkot prevailed upon her to be his wife. (*Baharistan*, f. 17a). Haidar Malik does not make any mention of this event. Narayan Kaul, Azam and Hasan state that she committed suicide. In this confusion of opinions we can only rely on Jonaraja, our earliest available authority

was overpowered by Shahmir she consented to become his wife.

Evidently, Kota Rani appears to have been grossly selfish, ambitious and very foolish too. Her interests were immediate and not remote. She acted most foolishly when she pitted Bhatta Bhikshana against Shahmir, unarmed and unprotected. When Udayanadeva died she should have crowned his son and herself acted as regent. She would have gained public opinion in her favour which should have helped her to get rid of Shahmir. Knowing him so well so long she should not have left him free and unwatched to strengthen his grip over her. She was, therefore, responsible for the tragic fate which overtook her. Even so Shahmir cannot be forgiven for his disloyalty, treachery and deceit, and must be severely censured. But in politics nothing succeeds like success.

V

TURN OF THE TIDE

The siege of Indarkot proved to be an epoch-making event in the history of Hindu Kashmir. It was a revolution. It changed a mistress for a master. It exposed the Hindu idol with its feet of clay. The kingdom slipped out of the hands of the Hindus once they supported Shahmir, who proclaimed himself Sultan and opened a new chapter in the history of the country. Kashmir became a Muslim state.

The ancestry of Shahmir is shrouded in mystery. Qutb-ud-din Muhammad Shirazi,[52] refers to one Amir Shah, a lineal descendant of Muqir-bin-Tahir. According to

52. Qutb-ud-din Mahmud *bin* Masud *bin* Mussaleh-al-Shirazi, the author of *Tarjama-i-Iqlidas,* writes as follows in the preface of his fragment: (English translation): 'Then the kindness of God raised the curtain of waiting from the face of objective of the writer of these lines and—there was achievement of the bliss of service and slavery of that dignity of victory, master and patron of people, mine of greatness and dignity in the hearts of men, pride of human race, "Grandeur of Iran", regulator of the world, renovator of faith and the faithful, crown of Islam and Muslims,

Jonaraja,[53] the original ancestor of Shahmir was Quru Shah. Quru Shah's descendant was Taharaja, who was an ancestor of Shamir. Shahmir and Amir Shah appear to be identical persons. This inference is supported by Holdich.[54] He says that Amir Shah was the first Muslim king of Kashmir. According to Abul Fazl[55] Shahmir's first ancestor was Arjun, the great Pandava. Nizam-ud--din Ahmad[56] supports Abul Fazl, and adds the names of Gurshasap and Nekroz in the family tree. Firishta[57] and the Persian chroniclers[58] of Kashmir have literally copied Nizam-ud-din and Jonaraja. In all likelihood, Jonaraja's 'Quru Shah' appears to be Gurshasap of Nizam-ud-din. In the face of all our evidences, Shahmir appears to have originated from Iran.[59]

best of the kings of the world "Amir Shah *bin* Muqir *bin Tahir*",—had the privilege and honour of reaching the greatness of that threshold vying with jins and refuge of kings. In the course of his deliberation, the dawn of the morning of success became refulgent and from that mine of kindness and fountain of virtue this sincere well-wisher, Qutb-ud-din Mahmud *bin* Masud as-Shirazi got the hint of translating the book of Euclid with figures which deals with the subject of mathematics.' (Raza Lib. Rampur, Ms.)

According to the author of *Tarjama-i-Iqlidas,* he compiled the work at the bidding of 'Amir Shah' and this Mahmud Shirazi, we know, was a pupil of the famous mathematician and philosopher Muhammad *bin* Muhammad *bin* Hasan Nasir-ud-din al-Tusi, better known as Muhaqqiq-i-Tusi. Qutb-ud-din Shirazi died on 17th Ramzan 710 A.H. corresponding to 28 January 1312. According to Jonaraja 'Shahmir' came to Kashmir in *Laukika* era 4389 (Saka 1235) (Jonaraja, p. 15) which corresponds to 1313-14. This chronological closeness supports the identity of Shahmir of Jonaraja with 'Amir Shah' of Qutb-ud-din Shirazi

53. Jonaraja, p. 15

54. Holdich, *Encl. Britannica,* XV, (11th ed.) pp. 688-89; Col. Jarrett also mentions 'Amir Shah' (*Ain* (Jarett), II, p. 386). In Blochmann's text of *Ain-i-Akbari,* it occurs as Shahmir. (*Ain* (text), III, p. 582)

55. *Ain* (text), III, p. 582

56. *Tabaqat* (Bib. Ind.), III, p. 424

57. Firishta (Luck.), II, p. 336

58. Haidar Malik is silent on this point. The author of the *Baharistan-i-Shahi* states that Shahmir descended from the chiefs of Swat. (*Baharistan,* f. 9a.)

59. This view is supported by the notice of Qutb-ud-din Shirazi who calls him '*Muffakhari Iran*' (Grandeur of Iran)

But Shahmir was not himself a Muslim missionary. No doubt, he appears to have had long contact and association with Bulbul Shah, who was a missionary. He appears to have been a cultured Muslim refugee who entered the valley independently or with a party of Muslim refugees and made it his future home. He seems to have been intelligent enough to grasp the state of affairs in this country quickly and then identified himself fully with the people. As minister of Rinchan, he was, it appears, instrumental to his conversion to Islam. To make the prospects for Islam better and stronger in future he acted as the guardian of his son Haidar.

His influence and prestige which he built up by stages helped him, during the reign of Raja Udayanadeva, to gain the friendship of the landlords (*Kottarajas*). These contacts he strengthened by matrimonial alliances.[60] What he needed was popularity to become a political leader. He achieved it during Turco-Mongol invasion of Kashmir in the reign of Udayanadeva when he ran for personal safety leaving his subjects to their own fate. But Shahmir rose to the occasion. He shared the troubles and tribulations of the people. To quote Jonaraja,[61] 'this believer in Alla, calm and active, became the saviour of the people and protected the terrified subjects'.

Shahmir ascended the throne in 1339,[62] with the title of Sultan Shamsuddin. He caused the *khutba* to be recited and the coins[63] struck in his name.

60. Jonaraja, pp. 26-27

61. *Ibid.*, p. 26

62. Jonaraja mentions Laukika 4415 (1338-39). (Jonaraja, p. 32.) Abul Fazl places his date of accession in 742 A.H. (1341) and Nizam-ud-din gives 747 A.H. (1347). (*Ain* (Jarrett), II, 387; *Tabaqat* (Bib. Ind.), III, p. 425). Sir Wolesley Haig wavers between 1341-42 and 1346. (*Ency. Islam*, IV, p. 258; *Cambridge Hist. of India*, III, p. 277; *JRAS*, 1918, p. 45)

63. Rodgers, *Coins of the Sultan of Kashmir*, *JASB* LIV, 1885, pp. 92 and plate one coin no. 11. It bears the legend: *'assultan al-azam Shams-uddin—zarbi Kashmir'*

VI

SHAHMIR'S REFORMS

(1) *Administrative*

To establish the state on principles of justice and equity, and to secure peace and tranquillity, Shahmir fixed the revenue at one-sixth[64] of the gross produce. Further he exterminated the turbulent Lavanyas who had been a constant source of danger to public peace. We do not hear any more of their menacing activities. Very likely they seem to have got merged with the peasantry of the country, retaining their original subcaste 'Lon',[65] in order to distinguish themselves from the rest.

(2) *Military*

The army under Hindu kings comprised mostly mercenaries. They were raised mainly from the fighting and warlike inhabitants of the adjoining hill-states of Jammu, Bhimber, Punch and Rajauri. But consequent on the establishment of the Turkish rule in the Punjab, and the increasing disorder and chaos that had set in Kashmir after the death of Raja Jayasimha, these feudatory hill-states had thrown off the Kashmir yoke, and the weak and resourceless rajas of Kashmir could no more raise troops there. As a result the tribe of the 'Lavanyas', who had reputation of a fighting people, came to the forefront. But Shahmir exterminated them in his own interest. He raised a standing army from the Magre and Chak[66] tribes who possessed soldierly qualities and endurance.

(3) *Cultural*

Shahmir was a cultured Muslim. He utilised his energy and resources in encouraging peaceful expansion of Islam

64. *Tabaqat* (Bib. Indi.), III, p. 426 and Firishta (Luck.), II, p. 338
65. Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 306
66. *Tabaqat, op. cit.;* Firishta, *op. cit.*

in the country. The popular symbols of a Islamic state, namely, *masjid* and *namaz*, had already been introduced by Rinchan. Shahmir built some more mosques. His innovation was the calendar of Yazdgird. He introduced it instead of the existing Hindu calendar. To make it popular he called it the *Kashmiri Sanah.*[67] Then to establish amicable and harmonious relations between Kashmiris and outsiders he encouraged matrimonial alliances between them.

Death

Having established peace and order, Shahmir entrusted the government of the state to his two sons, Jamshed and Ali Sher, and himself retired from active life.[68] He died in July-August 1342,[69] after a brief reign of three years and five days. He lies buried at Sumbal.[70]

67. Hasan writes, 'So far the official calendar current in Kashmir was based on *Laukika* or *Saptarshi* era. Shahmir changed it into his own beginning from 725 A.H. (1323)—Hasan's *Tarikh* (Ms.), II, p. 25; *Tarikh-i-Jadwali* (Ms.)

68. Jonaraja, p. 33; *Tabaqat, op. cit.*, p. 427. Firishta adds that old age and infirmity compelled him to retire. (Firishta, *op. cit.*, 338)

69. Jonaraja, *ibid.*

70. Sumbal is the ancient Jayapur (Indarkot) founded by Jayapida. (Bates, *Gazetteer*, p. 375). The tomb of Shahmir at Sumbal is popularly known as 'Maqbara-i-Sultan Sahib' and 'Maqbara-i-Sultan Padshah'. It is enshrined in a small room about 19 feet square, now in a dilapidated condition. The tomb stone is five feet long, and rudely and unevenly cut. There are certain inscriptions on the walls which are so worn out that they cannot be deciphered

CHAPTER FOUR

Consolidation of The Sultanate
(1342-89)

I

Jamshed (1342-44)

THE EXPERIMENT MADE BY Shahmir in respect of succession was a compromise. But it proved to be unworkable. In spite of his great diplomatic foresight and statesmanship, Shahmir committed a blunder in not declaring his elder son Jamshed to be his successor in his own life time. Nevertheless, Jamshed was proclaimed sultan at his death. But the two brothers could not get on well. Ali Sher, his younger brother, was incited to revolt.

There was civil war. Ali Sher, energetic, hardy but selfish, took up his stand at Avantipur,[1] while Jamshed collected his forces at Kakapur.[2] The conflict proved bloody. To quote Jonaraja,[3] 'the current of the Vitasta (Jehlam) was blocked up by dead bodies'. The issue was decided when Siraj, the disloyal wazir of Jamshed deserted to Ali Sher. Jamshed was defeated and killed in 1344,[4] after a nominal reign of one year and ten months.

Ala-ud-din (1344-56)

Ali Sher ascended the throne with the title of Ala-ud-din. Soon after Kashmir faced a famine[5] of unprecedented

1. Jonaraja, p. 33. Madnipur is a clerical error in the histories of Nizam-ud-din and Firishta

2. Utapalapura of Jonaraja has been identified with Kakapur. (Jonaraja, *Ibid; Stein, Anc. Geog.*, para 118)

3. Jonaraja, p. 34

4. *Ibid.*, p. 35. One year and two months of the Persian chronicles is a clerical error for one year and ten months

5. *Ibid.*, p. 37

severity. During the fourteenth century the effects of the Black Death had been felt in Asia also. There was drought and failure of crops all over. Their ramifications, it appears, had reached as far as Kashmir also. Since the king personally looked after the arrangements for the supply of foodstuffs to the people the effects of the famine were considerably mitigated. Then he brought about the following administrative changes:

(a) *Transfer of Capital*: Indarkot had a history and the sentiments of the people were also associated with it. Founded by Jayapida, the grandson of Lalitaditya, it became the seat of Kota Rani's government. It was here that she was besieged by Shahmir and then disposed of finally. Shahmir used the place as his residence, and he was also buried[6] here. By the time of Sultan Āla-ud-din, however, Muslim civilisation and culture had spread around Jama Masjid, while Indarkot had lost much of its past glory. Ala-ud-din, therefore, shifted his capital to a site near Rinchanpur,[7] and named it Alauddinpur.[8]

(b) *Social Legislation*: We have ample evidence in the *Kuttanimatam*[9] and *Desopadesa*[10] to support the view that the social condition of the Hindus had of late greatly deteriorated. The character of the queens Sugandha and Didda, and King Harsha, as depicted by Kalhana, throws abundant light on the loose morals of the people in pre-Muslim times. To end the vice, Raja Simhadeva[11] (1286-1301) had decreed that a father shall be punished for his daughter's misconduct. But it appears that the Raja had issued the order in his cups for, shortly afterwards, he revoked it at

6. See Chapter III, footnote 70

7. This quarter of Srinagar was founded by Rinchan Shah. (Jonaraja, p. 23). At present it comprises the area situated between Jama Masjid and Ali Kadal

8. *Tabaqat* (Bib. Ind.), III, p. 428. 'Bakhshipur' in the *Tabaqat* is a clerical error for 'Rinchanpur'

9. See Introduction note 4 *supra*

10. *Ibid.* note 5 *supra*

11. Jonaraja, p. 14

the instance of his own favourite dancing girl, Idagali, and the evil progressed unchecked.

Rinchan and Shahmir did not, however, stop it. But Ala-ud-din was a different man. He ordered that a childless widow of loose character shall not inherit the property of her husband.[12] Strangely enough, a law which was laid down in the fourteenth century continued on the statute book of this country until our own times. Under the Dogras, too, a childless Hindu widow could neither inherit from her father or father-in-law nor could she adopt independently.

Ala-ud-din died in 1356[13] after a peaceful reign of 12 years and four months.

II

SHAHAB-UD-DIN (1356-74)

Ala-ud-din was succeeded by his son[14] Shirashamak.[15] He ascended the throne with the title of Shahab-ud-din. He put the Sultanate in Kashmir on a firm footing. He found a peaceful country, a good and faithful brother, and an efficient and trustworthy ministry.[16] Personally, too, he was

12. *Ibid.*, p. 37

13. Calcutta edition of Jonaraja and Dutt's translation give the Laukika year 4430 (1354-55). By adding the reigns of Shahmir (3 years 5 days), Jamshad (1 year 10 months) and Ala-ud-din (12 years 4 months) as mentioned in the *Baharistan-i Shahi*, we get a total of 17 years and 6 months. Shahmir ascended the throne in L. 4415 (1338-39) and Ala-ud-din died in 1355-56. The statements of Jonaraja and the author of *Baharistan-i Shahi* agree

14. At one place Jonaraja calls him the grandson of Shahmir (Jonaraja, p. 26). Subsequently he mentions him as Ala-ud-din's third brother. (*Ibid.*, p. 35.) Mirza Haidar Dughlat mentions him as 'brother of Ala-ud-din'. (*Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (Ms.), f. 237a; transl. (E&R) p. 432). In the Persian chronicles of Kashmir he is mentioned as the son of Ala-ud-din which appears convincing. (*Baharistan*, f. 19a.)

15. Jonaraja calls him *Shirhshataka* which the Persian chroniclers reproduce as *Shirashamak*. This nick-name, according to Sir Wolesley Haig, means 'little milk drinker'. (*JRAS*, 1918, p. 452)

16. Jonaraja, p. 41

a brave, good man. And he launched his military and administrative schemes with a large measure of confidence.

Conquests

He is said to have marched against the neighbouring states lying to the north, northwest and south of Kashmir. In the north he annihilated the Bhauttas and then struck terror in Kandahar and Ghazni.[17] While diverting his troops towards the Punjab, it is stated that he defeated the Jam of Sind,[18] and confronted the Raja of Nagarkot,[19] when he was returning from a plundering expedition of Delhi and the surrounding districts. The raja tendered his submission and presented to him a large share of the booty he was carrying from Delhi.

This raises an important issue, namely, were these expeditions actually undertaken by the sultan? Our earliest available authority on the subject is Jonaraja. When we compare his account with that of Nizam-ud-din, we find much agreement between the two. But it has to be admitted that Nizam-ud-din, who wrote more than 150 years after Jonaraja, had either depended on the text of Jonaraja or some translation of it. Abul Fazl,[20] on the other hand, contents himself with the statement that Shahab-ud-din overran Nagarkot, Tibet and other places. The Persian chronicles[21] of Kashmir, the earliest of which was written in 1617, indulge in usual exaggerations and add that Sultan Firoz Shah, having come to know that the Sultan of Kashmir was moving towards Delhi at the head of a large army, conciliated him by ceding the territory lying between Sirhind and Kashmir.

In the history of Sind[22] there is no mention of Sultan

17. *Ibid.*, p. 38
18. *Tabaqat* (Bib. Ind.), III, p. 429; Jonaraja, *Ibid.*
19. Jonaraja, p. 39; Vogel, *Panjab Hill States*, I, p. 127. Nagarkot is the name of Kangra
20. *Ain* (Jarrett), II, p. 387
21. *Baharistan*, ff. 21a, 21b; *Tarikh-i-Azam* (Ms.), p. 28
22. *Tarikh-i-Masumi*

Shahab-ud-din, much less of his victory over the Jam. Evidently, Nizam-ud-din and his British follower Haig,[23] have wrongly identified 'the ruler of Sindhu' of Jonaraja,[24] with the Jam of Sind, who, according to Jonaraja, avoided a conflict with the Sultan of Kashmir by presenting his daughter to him. According to *Tarikh-i-Firuz-Shahi*,[25] Sultan Firoz Shah (1351-88), after returning from Lakhnauti, marched on a hunting expedition to Daulatabad. But 'state affairs necessitated his return to Delhi', from Bayana and afterwards he marched with his army towards Nagarkot. According to the accounts of Kangra,[26] Sultan Firoz Shah, who had completed his preparations for an expedition to Daulatabad, suddenly abandoned his project, and instead launched an attack upon Kangra in 1361.

Obviously, Firoz Shah would not have changed his mind so suddenly unless he had some grave reasons. But his historian, Shams Siraj Afif, simply states that 'state affairs necessitated his return to Dilli'. We might, however, depending upon Jonaraja, attribute it to the provocation that the Raja of Kangra had given him by raiding certain districts within the jurisdiction of Delhi. To quote Jonaraja,[27] Sultan Shahab-ud-din 'harassed Udakpati (Raja Rup Chand of Kangra) on the banks of Shatadru (Satluj) where he had arrived after plundering Dilli, and blocked his way. The king of Shasharamapura (Kangra) apprehending danger from the King of Kashmir forsook the pride of his fort, and sought the protection of the queen (goddess).' From this solitary reference, we may establish that Sultan Shahab-ud-din had gone as far as the Satluj, where he came into conflict with the Raja of Kangra in 1360-61[28]. We need also consider the defeat suffered by Sultan

23. *Cambridge Hist. India*, III, Section xii, p. 278; *JRAS*, 1918, p. 452
24. Jonaraja, p. 38
25. *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* (Bib. Ind.), pp. 186-87; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, III, 317-19
26. *Kangra Dist. Gazetteer*, 1904, p. 29
27. Jonaraja, p. 392; Vogel, *op. cit.*, I, p. 127
28. *JRAS*, 1918, p. 452; *Cambridge Hist.*, III, Section xii, 278

Shahab-ud-din at the famous fort of Lohkot.[29] If he failed to reduce Punch, Rajauri and other neighbouring hill-states, which until 1155 were feudatory to Kashmir, how then, it may be argued, could he have been able to overthrow powerful kingdoms like Kandahar, Nagarkot and Sind.

National Reconstruction

In the year 1361 Kashmir was devastated by a great flood. The Jehlam and its tributaries were in spate and submerged many places. 'There was not a tree, not a boundary mark, not a bridge, not a house that stood in the way of the flood which it did not destroy.'[30] The greatest loss was the destruction of dwellings and crops. But the sultan left no stone unturned to gather food and to rehabilitate the flood-affected people. To reduce to the minimum recurrence of floods with their devastating effects he replanned the city and the low-lying village and dredged the Jehlam. Then he gave priority to the improvement of agriculture and prosperity of peasants, and encouraged schemes for grow-more-food. He restored peace and tranquillity by reducing the power and influence of big landlords who stimulated civil strife and disorder for personal aggrandisement.[31]

A born town-planner, Shahab-ud-din selected the elevated and healthy area around the Hari Parbat hillock for his capital. Here he built the new town of Sharikapura.[32] It guaranteed security from flood and immunity from disease.

29. Jonaraja, p. 47; Stein, *Rajat*, II, p. 299
30. Jonaraja, p. 41
31. *Baharistan*, f. 20a
32. Jonaraja, p. 42. Jonaraja names the place 'Sumeru', while in the Persian chronicles it is mentioned as 'Koh-i-Maran'. The identity of the two names has been shown by Jahangir. (*Tuzuk*, (R&B), II, p. 150). 'Koh-i-Maran' has nothing to do with 'Wicked Hill' of Lawrence. (Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 50); or the 'Verdant Mountain' of Bernier. (Bernier, *Travels*, p. 398). Hari Parbat, by which name the hillock is at present familiar to the people of Kashmir, is the Kashmiri form of the original name 'Sharikaparvata'. (Stein's note, *Rajat.*, III, 349). The town was named Nagar Nagar by Akbar

He also laid out the town of Shahabuddinpur at the confluence of the rivers Jehlam and Sind. We can form an impression of the fine tastes and town-planning genius of the sultan from the notice of Jahangir who visited Shahabuddinpur after some 225 years. Jahangir wrote:[33] 'Shahabuddinpur is one of the celebrated places of Kashmir. About a hundred plane-trees (*chinar*) of graceful form, clustered together on one plot of ground pleasant and green, join each other so as to shade the whole plot, so much so that to lay a carpet on it would be superfluous and in bad taste.' Today the town survives in village Shadipur,[34] which continues to be a very attractive spot amidst a cluster of *chinar* trees.

Treatment of Hindus

The Persian chroniclers[35] of Kashmir state that the sultan demolished Hindu temples and inflicted severities on Hindus. We do not come across any such notice in the histories of Nizam-ud-din or Abul Fazl. The latter, moreover, states that the sultan encouraged learning and proclaimed an equal administration of the laws.[36] The accusation appears to have originated from a wrong and prejudiced interpretation of the following two statements recorded by Jonaraja: (1) Proposed demolition of the temple of Vijayeshvari,[37] and (2) destruction of the rebellious Hindukas (Hindus) and Mlecchas[38] (Muslims).

As regards the demolition of the temple of Vijayeshvari, it may be stated that the sultan's treasury was empty consequent on the loss of revenue due to the effects of the flood of 1361. More than that the heavy drain on the financial

33. *Tuzuk* (R&B), I, p. 94

34. Village situated at the junction of Jehlam and Sindh rivers (74° 34′ Long., 34° 11′ Lat.), about nine miles to the north-west of Srinagar. (Bates, *Gazetteer*, p. 334; Stein, *Rajat*, ii. 329 sq)

35. *Baharistan*, f. 22a; *Tarikh-i-Azam* (Ms.), p. 29; *Tarikh-i-Birbal Kachru* (Ms.), p. 53; *Tarikh-i-Hasan* (Ms.), II, 267

36. *Ain* (Jarrett), II, 387

37. Jonaraja, p. 44

38. *Ibid.*, p. 45

and economic resources of the state, as a result of his military campaigns as well as his reconstruction schemes within the country, had caused him grave financial difficulties. To meet these difficulties, one of his ministers had suggested to him to demolish the temple of Vijayeshvari, in order to convert its brass image into money. But the sultan had spurned the proposal saying that he was not desirous to be remembered as an iconoclast.[39] And to give a practical shape to his noble, secular sentiments, he got some dilapidated temples repaired.[40]

The story of the destruction of the Hindus is equally untrue. As a well-meaning and just ruler, Shahab-ud-din had ruthlessly crushed all those who disturbed the peace and tranquillity of the people and rebelled against the state, no matter whether they were Hindus or Muslims. And it indicates his high sense of justice and tolerance that he granted clemency to Hindu rebels when they took the oath of allegiance to him while he ordered those Muslims to be killed who did not take the oath.[41]

His Death

But during the last years of his life a ruler of his merits also fell a prey to the charms of his concubine. She was the niece of the queen. She had complete sway over the sultan and succeeded to get the queen along with her two minor princes exiled, and Hindal, the sultan's brother, nominated as heir[42] to the throne. When, however, the

39. *Ibid.*, p. 44

40. Long before 1947, a stone slab with an inscription in Sarda characters was excavated at Kuthiar (Stein's note, *Rajat*, 1, 32) (Long. 75° 18′, Lat. 33° 40′), a village situated to the east of Anantnag (Islamabad), by the Kashmir Archaeology Department. The inscription states that repairs to this temple were executed by Sultan Shahab-ud-din. The stone is 17½ × 15½ × 1½ inches with a trefoil shape on the top. The inscription comprises of 17 lines. It was engraved by one Gana Yaksaka on 12 Baisak 4445 (April 1369). The stone with the inscription is available in the Srinagar Archaeo. Department

41. Jonaraja, p. 47

42. *Tabaqat* (Bib. Ind.), III, 428

sultan realised his great error, it was too late. He died a broken-hearted man in May-June 1374,[43] without being permitted to see his banished sons.

III

QUTB-UD-DIN (1374-89)

The accession of Hindal in 1374 with the title of Qutb-ud-din[44] was defiance of right by might. He was gifted with much insight and ready wit. He was rich in experience which he had gathered during 19 years of his brother's reign. He was his own Prime Minister, too, and personally attended to public business which he transacted with justice and moderation.[45]

His Political Problems

During the early period of his reign Qutb-ud-din was called upon to deal with Hasan Khan, his nephew and rival to the throne. Shahab-ud-din had before his death declared that Hasan Khan, his elder son, should succeed him.[46] Hasan Khan had therefore been recalled from exile. While on his way home he received the sad news of his father's sudden death and the occupation of the throne by his uncle. Therefore, he tarried at Jammu to watch the course of events in Srinagar. But so long as he remained free and discontented, he could be a source of perpetual nuisance to Qutb-ud-din. Then the latter apprehended an invasion from Punch also. The relations with Punch had become

43. Jonaraja states that he died on the 14th lunar day of the bright moon of the month of Jaistha in the year (44)49 (*Ibid.*, p. 47), that is to say in May-June 1373-74. Nizam-ud-din and Firishta wrongly allot him 20 years instead of 19 years and 3 months. Sir Wolesley Haig puts the date of his death in 1378. (*JRAS*, 1918, p. 452; also *Tabaqat*, III, 429)

44. Jonaraja calls him Hindal 'Hamda', and says that he founded Qutb-uddinpura, an extant quarter in Srinagar. It is also called 'Langar Hatta'. (Jonaraja, pp. 26, 47, 53; *Ain* (Jarrett), II, 387; *Tabaqat*, *Ibid.*; *Baharistan* f. 22b)

45. Jonaraja, p. 47

46. *Ibid.*, p. 48

strained and the memory of the defeat of Shahab-ud-din by the Punch[47] army was still rankling in the minds. Under these circumstances, if Prince Hasan Khan continued to remain at large he could exploit the situation in Kashmir and rally the Rajput mercenaries of the lower-hill states and Punch, and make a bid for the throne of Kashmir to which otherwise he had a stronger claim.

But Qutb-ud-din gave proof of great statesmanship and foresight when he offered the wandering prince the post of the heir-apparent.[48] The proposal was tempting enough and apparently free from any strings or motives because the sultan was yet childless. Hasan Khan accepted the offer. He came to Kashmir and took the oath of allegiance. Soon after Qutb-ud-din sent his army against Punch. The Punch garrison put up a gallant resistance at the fort of Lohkot,[49] but they were compelled to surrender.[50] The prestige of Kashmir was vindicated. But in the action Kashmiris lost their Commander-in-Chief, Lola Damara.

In the meantime Hasan Khan's impatience transcended his gratitude for his uncle. He was as foolish as he was impetuous, and permitted himself to become a tool in the hands of the sultan's enemies. The worst was Udayeshri,[51] who had been a powerful minister of Shahab-ud-din. He intrigued with the prince. It was decided that the prince will bring the sultan to the house of Lola Damara to pay condolences to his widow, and then assassinate him there.[52] But the widow of Lola Damara proved as faithful to the sultan as her husband. She revealed the plot. Udayeshri and Hasan Khan succeeded in escaping to Lohkot,[53] where, strangely

47. *Ibid.*, p. 47
48. *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49; *Tabaqat, op. cit.*, p. 430
49. Jonaraja, p. 47
50. *Ibid.*, pp. 47-49; *Cambridge Hist. of India*, III, p. 278
51. Jonaraja, p. 51; Nizam-ud-din names him 'Rai Rawal'. Haig correctly calls him a Hindu. (*Tabaqat, op. cit.; Cambridge Hist. of India*, III, p. 278)
52. Jonaraja, pp. 51-52
53. *Tabaqat*, III, p. 430

enough, they were betrayed by their hosts. They were arrested and then put to death.

IV

SAIYID ALI HAMADANI AND THE MISSIONARY MOVEMENT

The period which followed the Punch victory and the execution of Prince Hasan Khan and his accomplice for treason is one of the most memorable periods in the history of Kashmir. It coincided with the arrival of Saiyid Ali Hamadani,[54] who was destined to exercise the most direct influence on the society and culture of Kashmir. Amir-i-Kabir, Ali Sani, Saiyid Ali Hamadani, popularly known in Kashmir as 'Shah-i-Hamadan', was the son of Saiyid Shahab-ud-din, who was the son of Mir Saiyid Muhammad Al-Hasani of Hamadan, Persia. After completing his early education at home he became a disciple of Shaikh Sharaf-ud-din Mazdaqqani, and at his instance chose the life of a wanderer through Muslim countries, in order to learn by sight and society. During these educational tours, which covered a period of twenty-one years, Saiyid Ali appears to have thoroughly imbibed Muslim theology and political ethics. He put down his ideas and experiences in his two well-known works, *Zakhirat-ul-Muluk* and *Ghayat-ul-Makan*. They deal with Muslim political ethics and Sufism respectively. His writings[55] reveal him neither a political revolutionary nor a bigot.

In the *Zakhirat-ul-Muluk*,[56] he has set down the general

54. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R). But Abul Fazl and Jahangir call him 'Mir Saiyid Ali Hamadani'. (*Ain* (Jarrett), II, p. 387; *Tuzuk* (R&B), II, p. 142; also *Dabistan* (S&T), I, 90.) As regards the appellation 'Shah-i-Hamadan' by which title he is popularly remembered in Kashmir, see *Asrar-ul-Abrar* (Ms.). Shah-i-Hamadan signifies the spiritual leadership of Saiyid Ali, since 'Shah' means a spiritual leader. (See Brown, *Derveshes*, 2nd ed., p. 142.)

55. The following works are attributed to Saiyid Ali Hamadani: (i) *Zakhirat-ul-Muluk*, (ii) *Ghayat-ul-Makan*, (iii) *Minhaj-ul-Arifin*, (iv) *Asrar-ul-Nafs*, (v) *Chihil Asrar*, (vi) *Sharah-Fusus-al-Hikam*, and (vii) *Khulasat-ul-Manaqib*

56. *Zakhirat-ul-Mulk*, see Chapter V

principles to be followed by a good Muslim sovereign in his private and public life. He enjoins upon a sovereign heavy duties and responsibilities. But he does not believe that the sovereign has a halo of divinity round him. He says that a sovereign should look after the welfare of his subjects, believers and unbelievers alike. He should think of their prosperity and comfort, and protect them from robbers and thieves. He should construct bridges over rivers and erect watch-posts.

In the *Gayat-ul-Makan*,[57] Saiyid Ali Hamadani appears to be a mystic and a Sufi with deep faith in God and in his own actions. He emphasises the superiority of a Sufi to persons engaged in materialistic avocations.

Saiyid Ali Hamadani was a contemporary of Khwaja Muhammad Baha-ud-din Naqshband (1319-89), and Saiyid Jalal-ud-din Bukhari.[58] Later on he was influenced by the teachings of the founder of the Naqshbandi[59] order of which, in course of time, he himself became a leader. The Naqshbandis, as an order, took a keen interest in politics, which brought them into conflict with Amir Timur.

By 1370, Timur had established himself as the undisputed ruler of Samarqand and Bukhara, and was extending

57. *Ghayat-ul-Makan* (Raza Library Rampur, Ms.), f. 27a

58. *Encyclo. Islam*, III, pp. 842-43; Titus, *Religious Quest in India*, p. 124; and Abdul Haq, *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar*, p. 141

59. In Kashmir his followers are known as Kubrawes. (Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 292). Naqshbandi order was introduced in India by Khwaja Muhammad Baqi Billah Berang, who died in 1603 (*Zabdat-ul-Muqamat*, p. 30 sqq; Titus, *Ibid*, p. 124). He was able to spread his mission through his extra-efficient disciples, Shaikh Ahmad al-Faruqi-as-Sirhindi, better known as Imam-i-Rabani, Mujaddid Alif Sani, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, who died in 1625. (*Zabdat-ul-Muqamat, Ibid.*) The latter's disciples, Khwaja Muin-ud-din Chisti and Khwaja Khwand Mahmud, introduced Naqshbandi order in Kashmir. (*Tarikh-i-Azam* (Ms); Lawrence, *Ibid*, p. 292). In Kashmir Saiyid Ali Hamadani is nowhere associated with the Naqshbandis. As a matter of fact, Naqshbandi and Hamadani Muslims in Kashmir have often been at loggerheads although the mosques of Saiyid Ali Hamadani, (Khanqah Muala) at Fateh Kadal, and of Naqshband Sahib at Khanyar, Srinagar, are equally revered by all Kashmiri Muslims

his power in the neighbouring countries with a terrible speed. He conquered Balkh (1369), Khurasan (1369-80) and Herat (1380). Meanwhile he was also making preparations to occupy Persia. It is however necessary to state here that Timur treated the Saiyids belonging to the countries which he conquered with consideration, provided they transferred to him the right of governing the Musalmans. But those Saiyids who objected to this proposal belonged to Hamadan and Subzwar (Baihaq), and he was ruthless to them. Accordingly, Saiyid Ali Hamadani and his six hundred followers, fled for safety and entered Kashmir in 1379[60] as refugees. At the same time, the Baihaqi Saiyids first migrated to India; then they also came to Kashmir. Very likely they were also anxious to escape the rigours of the great famine and disease which had laid Europe low, and had already spread in West Asia with disastrous consequences, during the last decades of the 14th century. In Kashmir they received warm welcome from Sultan Qutb-ud-din. He made all arrangements for their comfortable sojourn in his country.

In Srinagar, Saiyid Ali Hamadani selected for his residence the smooth, airy and extensive plot of land situated on the right bank of the river Jehlam. Here stood the shrine of the Hindu goddess Kali.[61] Ever since Saiyid Ali Hamadani rested here it became known as the Khanqah-Maula.

60. The date of his arrival is obtained from the chronogram *Muqaddam Sharif U* (781 A.H./1379) in the following verse:
'*Mir Saiyid Ali Shahi Hamadan = Seer akleem saba Kard niko,*
Shud mushrif ba maqaddamash Kashmir = Ahli an Shahr azo hidayat Ju,
Sali tarikh-i maqqadame U ra = Yabi az maqaddame sharife U.
(Daud-Mishkati, *Asrar-ul-Abrar* (Ms.) ff. 19a, 19b; *Baharistan*, f. 22b; *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik* (Ms), p. 27; *Khazinat-ul-Asfiya*, p. 938; *Tarikh-i-Azam* (Ms), p. 30; Beale, *Orient. Biogr. Dict.*, p. 238). But Col. Newell wrongly places the date 1388. (Newell, *JASB*, 1854, p. 414; Lowenthal, *JASB*, 1864, p. 278). For Timur's conquests in Central Asia and Persia, see Sir Percy Sykes, *History of Persia*, II, pp. 115-30

61. *Tarikh-i-Birbal Kachru* (Ms), ff. 64a 64b; *Tarikh-i-Hasan* (Ms), p. 277; *Tarikh-i-Kabir Kashmir*, pp. 12-13; Lowenthal, *JASB*, 1864, pp. 279-80; *Times*, London, 8 November 1894

The endowment[62] deed of this Khanqah, dated 11 January 1399 (29 *Rabi Awwal* 797 A.H.) and signed and sealed by Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani, the son and successor of Sayyid Ali Hamadani, is a document of great historical significance. It shows the earliest limits of the Khanqah, the purpose of its foundation, and the means of its maintenance. It is the earliest available document showing the origin of the institution of *Awqaf* in the Muslim ecclesiastical system in Kashmir. The magnificently attractive mosque was subsequently raised on this site by Sultan Sikandar (1398-1413), and in course of time this place became the centre of the religious and political activities of the Muslims of Kashmir, particularly the Hamadanis.

V

To form a correct estimate of the influence of Saiyid Ali Hamadani over Sultan Qutb-ud-din in particular, and the masses in general, we need to go into the history of the establishment of Islam in Kashmir. Introduced in the reign of Rinchan Shah, Islam had not made any appreciable progress until the arrival of Saiyid Ali Hamadani. Beyond building a few mosques and *langar khanas* (alms-houses), no direct encouragement had been given by the state for the spread of Islam, and cases of willing or forced conversion were rare. Neither the demolition of temples nor desecration of their images was encouraged. In certain matters the Hindu-way of the early sultans was conspicuous. For instance, Sultan Qutb-ud-din had married two real sisters simultaneously which was against the *Shariat* (Muhammadan law). The Muslims dressed like the Hindus, both men and women. Even the sultans dressed in the same manner as their Hindu subjects.[63] Officially both the *Sarda* script and the Arabic script were recognised and used. Then as a result of their intermingling socially and culturally the two

62. See Appendix D
63. *Baharistan*, f. 23a; *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 28

communities had imbibed traits of each other's customs, taboos, etc.

To Saiyid Ali Hamadani and his devout band of Musalman disciples the social and religious life of the Kashmiris was an anathema, an abomination, as it militated against the Islam that was preached and practised in the time of the Prophet and the pious khalifas. They were too anxious to free the Muslims of Kashmir from Hindu encrustations. Therefore, Saiyid Ali Hamadani took upon himself the task of transforming Kashmir. He first demonstrated true Islam, the Islam preached and practised by the Prophet, to Sultan Qutb-ud-din both by precept and example. He influenced him with his spiritual powers which he possessed in abundance. His sway over the mind of the sultan was complete when, at his instance, his un-Islamic marriage was annulled. One of the two sisters was taken into wedlock, after performance of the *nikha* (marriage), while the other was divorced for ever.[64] He also induced the sultan to adopt

64. *Ibid.* This is corroborated by the spot in Qutbuddinpur in Srinagar (also called Langar Hatta, as well as Mohalla Haji Peer Mohd. Sahib), where Sultan Qutb-ud-din was buried. (*Tarikh-i-Hasan* (Ms), p. 271; and *Tarikh-i-Jadwali*). In this thickly populated mohalla there is an extensive graveyard situated to the SW of Jama Masjid. Here lies an octagonal cella whose high basement and side walls are still in a good state of preservation. The quadrangular court in which it stands is approached by ornamented gateways. At the very first sight it gives the impression that it must have an ancient shrine which has remained in a comparatively fair state of preservation owing to its conversion into a *ziarat*. Dr. Stein identified this shrine with the temple of Ranaswamin. (*Rajat*, III, 453-54 and note.) My own examination of the site reveals that the *ziarat* is the tomb of Sultan Qutb-ud-din. The sultan lies buried here. There lies the shrine of Pir Haji Mohd. Sahib to its NW at a distance of about eight yards. We may enter this octagonal spot by either of the two ornamented doorways standing at its east and west, three steps above the ground. To the right and left of these steps, we come across stone pillars bearing ornamental figures symbolic of Hindu and Buddhist architecture. In this enclosure we find three tombs, two lying very close to each other, while the third lies a little way off. The closely lying two tombs appear to be those of Sultan Qutb-ud-din and his queen. The Arabic inscription, '*al-harm al-muhtarm Sultan Qutb-ud-din*' and the date 846 A.H. (1442) establish this

Muslim style of dress and to introduce it among his Muslim subjects.[65] Then he collected important rules of the *Shariat* for the guidance of the sultan and his Muslim subjects and appointed his most promising and trustworthy disciple as his religious mentor.[66] Then he made a gift of his own *Kulah-i-Mubarak* (head-gear) to the sultan, and blessed him and his progeny with long rule.[67]

VI

SAIYID ALI HAMADANI AND LALISHARI

We do not know if Saiyid Ali Hamadani came to Kashmir with the intention of propagating Islam, but the fact of his being accompanied by 600 disciples creates a presumption in its favour. It is further strengthened by the role he actually played in this country.

To understand the condition of the Hindu religion which the Saiyid Ali Hamadani resolved to change into Islam, it is necessary to look into the *vakyas*[68] or wise sayings of Lalishari, who was his local contemporary.

Lalishari or 'Lallayogishari'[69] as she is remembered with

fact. She is the mother of Sultan Sikandar, the son and successor of Sultan Qutb-ud-din. The third tomb lying some steps away also without a *dastar* could be that of the discarded wife of the sultan

65. *Baharistan*, f. 23a; *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 28

66 & 67. *Ibid.*; *Tarikh-i-Azam* (Ms), p. 30

68. For the *vakyas* of Lal Ded, see Grierson and Barnett, *Lalavakyani;* Temple, *The Word of Lalla*

69. *Notes and Queries Panjab*, II, p. 432; *Ind. Ant.*, L, p. 310 sqq; Grierson and Barnett, *Ibid*, Introduction, pp. 1-2; Daud Mishkati and Azam wrongly place her as a contemporary of Sultans Ala-ud-din and Shahab-ud-din. But they support the tradition that she was a great divine, who disappeared at the approach of death. Perhaps the story of the end of Kabir is repeated in her case as well since she too is claimed as their own both by Hindus and Muslims. (Daud Mishkati, *Asrar-ul-Abrar* (Ms), ff. 323a and 328b; *Tarikh-i-Azam* (Ms), p. 29)

reverence by the Sanskritists, or 'Lal Ded',[70] by which name both Hindus and Muslims of the valley remember her, or 'Lalla', as she is mentioned by Orientalists, was a wandering ascetic of very high spiritual attainments. She was born at Pandrethan.[71] The exact dates of her birth and death are difficult to determine, but she must have been a grown-up lady when she met Saiyid Ali Hamadani (1380-84). She was married at the early age of 12, not uncommon in those days, and ever since lived at the house of her father-in-law at Pampur.[72] Here she passed her days toiling in misery and hunger. Her step-mother-in-law was a very hard-hearted and ruthless woman, and her husband pig-headed, obstinate and cruel. They made her life very sad and miserable for twelve years. But she put up with her fate with exemplary courage and self-control. At length she quitted her home and hearth. She became an ascetic and preached against the existing Hindu social drawbacks and religious superstitions and ignorance.[73]

A careful study of the sayings of Lal Ded and the events of her life reveals that Hindu society was corrupt. Men were intolerant, depraved and vicious, and women were no better than they could make of them. Their religion was, as it still is, broadly based on the Tantric doctrines of Saivism.[74] The people generally were made to believe in

70. Her name was Padmavati. It is interesting to know the origin of the appellation 'Lal Ded'. She was a *yogini*, par-excellence. Owing to yogic exercises, it is said, her abdomen (Kashmiri 'lal') had projected and enlarged to such a size that it answered the purpose of loin-cloth. At this stage she tore away her garments and peregrinated nakedly. Hence the name *Lal Ded*, (Ind. Anti., 1921, p. 304.)

71. Pandrethan (Lat. 34° 4', Long. 74° 55') is a small village situated at the right bank of the Jehlam, three miles above Srinagar. (Bates, *Gazetteer*, p. 301). It is the ancient Puranddishtana. (Stein, *Rajat*, III, 99; I, 104 and notes)

72. Pampur (Lat. 34° 1', Long. 74° 58') is the town famous for the saffron growth. (Bates, *Gazetteer*, 299); *Tuzuk* (R&B), II, pp. 177-78). It is the ancient town of Padmapura. (Stein, *Rajat*, IV, 695)

73. *Ind. Anti.*, 1921, pp. 302-12

74. Saivism is a religious system based on Saiva yoga, and Kashmir is regarded to have been its birth-place. It was the Advaita Saiva philosophy

occultism, in magic, in stocks and stones, in springs, in rivers, in fact, in all the primitive forms of worship.[75]

Lal Ded was destined to be a great reformer of the Brahmanical religion of Kashmir. She turned out to be the Kashmiri off-shoot of that mighty reformation movement of the fourteenth century whose leaders were Ramananda, Kabir, Nanak and others. She had practised Brahmanism as taught by theocratic 'gurus'. She had performed penances and undergone mortifications. But all in vain, because the light dawned upon her only inwardly.[76] Then she began to preach vehemently against formalism in religion, against the workship of trees, rivers and idols and stones in temples. The stone in the temple, she says, is no better than a millstone or the stone in a pavement.[77] The idol is but a lump of stone and the temple the house for this lump. Idol

peculiar to Kashmir, specially called the Trika system. It made its appearance about 900 A.D. as a full-fledged monastic (*Advaita*) philosophy, claiming to be revealed (*Sruti*) by Lord Siva himself. The early Saiva doctrine which obtained in Kashmir was dualistic (*dvaita*). It was associated with the visit to Kashmir of the great apostle of monism, Shankaracharya or some great follower of his (c. 850), at whose instance Kashmiri Brahmans changed the ancient system and propagated the pure or essential monism (*Advaita-Tattva*, or principle of unity). Having decided on the change, the Kashmiri Saivas drew up an *agama Sastra*. The great teachers of this system were Vasugupta (c. 800-50) and Kallata (c. 850-900). Then followed in the 11th century Bhaskara; after him the best known Saiva-philosopher Abhinavagupta. The activities of the school are stated to have come to an end by 1200. Then Lal Ded gave it a new impetus. The system had gained such popularity and celebrity that Ramanuja, the leader of the rival Vaishnava belief, felt compelled to travel from distant Madras (in the early 12th century) to Kashmir with the special object of combating the hostile creed at its fountain-head. For a comprehensive history of Saiva philosophy, see J. C. Chatterji, *Kashmir Saivism;* Temple, *The Word of Lalla*, pp. 110-16; Grierson and Barnett, *Lallavakyani*, Introduction. Kashmir Saiva philosophy did not die with Lal Ded. We have ample notices of the Saiva yogis of Kashmir in the reign of Emperor Shahjahan. (See *Dabistan-ul-Mazahab* (Shea & Troyer), II, p. 103-04). Until recent years, Tantric worship was practised in the valley on the *Siva-Ratri* day though not publicly. (Buhler, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-25)

75. Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 295

76. *Lallavakyani* (Grierson and Barnett), *Vakyas*, 3, 11, 48

77. *Ibid.*, 17, 36, 48

worship is fruitless and silly.[78] Truth can only be realised by creating an atmosphere of purity, simplicity, equality and freedom from ego.[79] She preached against the Saiva religion as it was practised by the Tantric 'gurus' of those times who were master magicians. She admits that the magical powers of the 'gurus' were mighty. They could stop a flowing stream, cool a raging fire, milch a wooden cow. But these powers, she says contemptuously, are only feats of jugglery.[80] Against this system of worship she preached the annihilation of the self in the Supreme by means of the *yoga*.[81] In short, she directed her followers from observation to reflection, from hypocrisy to reality, from ceremonials to sincerity. She denounced renunciation and wearing of coloured garments. According to her the cycle of rebirth can only cease when the self has been annihilated, when the ego is killed, and man and god become one.[82]

More important still, she discarded the difficult and intricate Sanskrit language which the Brahmans used for religious and social ceremonies. She is the earliest known social and educational reformer of Kashmir who realised that the main cause of the degradation of the Hindu religion and society is the ignorance of the masses. Sanskrit had been the official language and religious ceremonies were performed in Sanskrit which only learned Brahmans could understand. Rest had to follow slavishly and parrot-like. To Lal Ded such a state of affairs was the curse of god. She preached against the use of Sanskrit language by the unlettered masses, because they could not understand it. She was certainly a Sanskritist herself, but as a sincere social reformer she discarded Sanskrit language and expressed her ideas and thoughts in the simple spoken Kashmiri of the day which rendered her sayings popular and proverbial. There are few countries in which so many saws

78. *Ibid.*, 12, 30, 43, 53
79. *Ibid.*, 12, 30, 43
80. *Ibid.*, 38
81. *Ibid.*, 52
82. *Ibid.*, 5, 41, 52, 54

or wise sayings are current as Kashmir, and none of them more popular with both Hindus and Muslims than the sayings of Lal Ded.[83] There is no grown-up Kashmiri, Hindu or Muslim, who has not some of these sayings at the tip of his or her tongue and who does not revere her memory.

The religion that Lal Ded preached was short and simple. She laid emphasis on the brotherhood of man and the unity of god. She was a pioneer of Hindu-Muslim unity. She stood like a bridge between Hinduism and Islam, and left it for her younger contemporary, Shaikh Nur-ud-din,[84] the founder of the celebrated *rishi*[85] order, to popularise.

83. *Ibid.*, *Intro.*, pp. 3-6; *Lalla* (Temple), Intro., pp. 9-10

84. Shaikh Nur-ud-din, Nur-ud-din Shah or Nur-ud-din Rishi of Kashmiri Muslims was familiar as Nanda Rishi and Sahazanand to Kashmiri Hindus. He is the most beloved among the indigenous saints. His shrine is situated in Charari-Sharif, a large village at a distance of five miles from Nagam to the south of Srinagar. It is equally honoured by Hindus and Muslims of Kashmir. Shaikh Nur-ud-din was born in village Khemoh. His exact date of birth cannot be determined. According to Daud Mishkati he was born in 754 A.H. (1356). Mohi-ud-din Miskeen puts it in 779 A.H. (1377-78). (Daud Mishkati, *Asrar-ul-Abrar*, ff. 61 sqq., *Tarikh-i-Azam* (Ms), p. 53 sq.; *Tarikh-i-Kabir*, p. 92; *Ind. Anti.*, 1921, L, p. 309; *JASB*, 1870, p. 265 sq.) According to tradition he is believed to have been suckled at his birth by Lal Ded. Shaikh Nur-ud-din passed his early life in a family which made its living by robbery and theft. He was also trained for the same vocation, but from the very start he took intense dislike to it. Ultimately he left home at the age of 30, and passed 12 years in a cave where he subsisted only on dry vegetables of the jungle. He is the first known Kashmiri Sufi of the extremist order, who founded the illustrious *rishi* order. For *rishis*, see *Ain* (text), II, p. 170 (Jarrett's tran., II, pp. 353-54); *Tabaqat*, III, p. 485, Firishta, II, 360

85. The name *rishi* which the order adopted and which still clings as *kram*, or family name, to certain Muhammadans, as well as Brahmans of Kashmir, is not originally a Muslim term. According to Mr. Troyer, 'rishi is a kind of saint. . . Seven classes of rishis are enumerated, *Devarishi*. *Brahmarshi*, *Maharshi*, *Parmarshi*, *Rajarshi*, *Kandarshi*, and *Srutarshi* (*Dabistan* (Shea and Troyer) II, p. 27, note 2). The *rishi* order as founded by Shaikh Nur-ud-din is peculiar to Kashmir. It is reminiscent of the *rishis* of ancient times who lived on vegetables and possessed all the characteristics which Abul Fazl has enumerated. (*Ain*, *op. cit.*, Daud Mishkati, *Asrar-ul-Abrar*, ff. 65a-88b; *Tarikh-i-Kabir*, pp. 87-98; *Tarikh-i-Azam* (printed), p. 58.) These *rishis* appear to have been Muhammadanised

The essentials of Lalla's religion were rejection of idolatry, unity of god and practice of *yoga*. When we study the essentials of Sufism, we find that apart from unity of god, brotherhood of man, and rejection of idolatry, which are the fundamental principles of Islam, the practice of *zikr* is akin to *yoga* of the Hindus. *Zikr* is an exercise in the restraint of breathing. The Naqashbandis and Sufis generally taught the doctrine of many lives for one individual soul, and that the soul after death returns to the world in a new body. To achieve freedom from the world and its attractions, they prescribed *zikr*, that is, 'Keep the attention fixed on heart, the eyes closed, the mouth firmly shut, the tongue pressed against the roof of the mouth, the teeth set tight against each other, and hold the breath; repeat the creed "there is no god but god", with great force but with the heart and not with the tongue.'[86] This was exact copy of the *yoga* which Lal Ded and the Hindu sages preached and practised in order to achieve freedom from rebirth. She preached harmony between Vedantism and Sufism, between good Hindus and good Muslims, and thus made Saiyid Ali Hamadani's work easy.

Now all that he had to do was to give these fundamental principles a Muslim colour and dress. He distributed his disciples in the towns and villages so that they would live among the people and spread their faith by example as well as by precept. Himself he preached true Islam[87] to Sultan Qutb-ud-din and his close associates at Srinagar.

Hindus who attained considerable celebrity in the early years of the spread of Islam in Kashmir in the 14th century. But they clung to ancient Hindu ways of life and culture. Col. Briggs exposes great ignorance when he indentifies them with Russies. (Briggs, Firishta (1910), IV, p. 509)

86. Temple, *Lalla*, Introduction, pp. 5-6

87. In the *Zakhirat-ul-Muluk*, Saiyid Ali Hamadani while emunerating the conditions which should guide a sultan in his dealings with the *zimmis* (non-Muslim subjects) states that they are based on the conditions already laid by Caliph Omar. They are: (i) Muslim ruler shall not allow fresh construction of temples and shrines for idol worship; (ii) no repairs shall be executed to the existing temples and shrines of non-Muslims; (iii) & (iv)

Saiyid Ali Hamadani stayed in Kashmir for six years. He left in 1383-84 on reasons of declining health, after entrusting the task of popularising Islam and Muslim culture to his disciples. He returned by way of Hazara, but died on the way in 1384,[88] and was buried in Khuttilan.

no Muslim traveller shall be refused lodgement in these temples and shrines where he shall be treated as a guest for three days by non-Muslims; (v) no non-Muslim shall act as a spy in the Muslim state; (vi) no difficulty shall be offered to those non-Muslims who of their own choice show their readiness for Islam; (vii) & (viii) non-Muslims shall honour Muslims and shall leave their assembly whenever Muslims enter the premises; (ix) the dress of non-Muslims shall be different from that of Muslims to distinguish them; (x) they shall not proffer Muslim names; (xi) they shall not ride a harnessed horse; (xii) they shall not go about with arms; (xiii) they shall not wear rings with diamonds; (xiv) they shall neither deal in nor eat bacon; (xv) they shall not exhibit idolatrous usages; (xvi) they shall not build houses in the neighbourhood of Muslims; (xvii) they shall not dispose of their dead in the neighbourhood of Muslim *maqbaras* nor weep or wail loudly over their dead; and (xviii) they shall not deal in nor buy Muslim slaves

Further on he adds: in case they disobey these conditions then possession of their lives is *halal* (lawful) for a Muslim. (Saiyid Ali Hamadani, *Zarkhirat-ul-Muluk,* Chapter V; Shibli, *Alfaruq,* I and II)

88. There is divergence of opinion about the date and the place of the death of Saiyid Ali Hamadani. The author of the *Baharistan-i-Shahi* states that he died in 786 A.H. (1384) in Swat and his corpse was carried to Khuttilan (Persia) where it was buried. (*Baharistan,* ff. 24b, 25a). Daud Mishkati and Haidar Malik also hold the same opinion. Haidar Malik finds the date in the chronogram *Saiyid Ma Ali Sani,* i.e. 786. Also *Tarikh-i-Azam* (Ms), p. 30. According to Beale, Saiyid Ali died in Pakhli about the year 1386. (Beale, *Orient. Bio. Dict.,* p. 238). Col. Newell also affirms that he died at Pakhli, and he gives the date 786 A.H. (1384). (*JASB,* 1870, p. 267.) Col. Newell's statements regarding the Saiyid's date of arrival, the number of times he came, and the year he finally left the valley, are disputable and not supported by epigraphic evidence. (*JASB,* 1854, p. 414). According to Sir Walter Lawrence 'Mir Saiyid Ali (Hamadani) was poisoned on his way back to Hamadan, and that his coffin made miraculous march to Khuttilan in Persia.' (Lawrence, *op. cit.,* p. 292). How far this is reliable may be seen from the topographical inaccuracy not to speak of the incidence of poisoning, though the miracle made by the coffin is recorded by Muhammadan chroniclers also. Sir Richard Temple is of opinion that he died in 1386 and was buried in Khuttilan in Persia. (Temple, *Lalla,* p. 2. Introudction.)

Death of Sultan Qutb-ud-din

During the last few years of Sultan Qutb-ud-din Islam made considerable progress under the guidance of Saiyid Ali Hamadani and his disciples. The movement received increasing official encouragement and support because, at the same time, the childless sultan was gifted with two sons which was attributed to the great spiritual powers of Saiyid Ali Hamadani himself. The princes were named Sikandar[89] and Haibat Khan. Soon after the sultan died in 1389[90] after

Comparing the above opinion, we may safely conclude that Saiyid Ali Hamadani died in 786 A.H. (1384) at Khuttilan. In support of this hypothesis we have the date obtained from the chronogram (*al-i-Yasin*) in the inscription mentioned below over the door of the Khanqah-i-Shah-i-Hamadan, which was built in commemoration of his visit. The inscription gives the date of his death which is also quoted by the above-mentioned Muslim chroniclers:

'Chu shud az gahi Ahmad Khatime din
Ze Hijrat haft sadusata samanin
Biraft az alame fani ba baqi
Amire har du alam Al-i-Yasin.'

Translation:

In the year of Hijra 786, from the time of Ahmad, there went away, from this transitory to the Eternal World, the Amir of the two worlds, the descendant of Yasin. [The expression *Al-i-Yasin* denotes the descent of Saiyid Ali from the Prophet. Yasin is the name of 36 'sura' of the Quran, which is so called from the fact that these two letters *Alif* and *Lam* mysteriously stand at its head. Their meaning is uncertain. The sum (786) itself is considered particularly sacred by the Muslims. They state that Prophet Muhammad called it 'the heart of Quran'. (*JASB*, 1864, p. 281, note 2.)] It appears that Mirza Haidar Dughlat was referring to his first visit when Saiyid Ali Hamadani stayed in Kashmir for 40 days but not of course to his visit in the reign of Sultan Qutb-ud-din. (*Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), pp. 432-33)

89. Jonaraja names the princes 'Shringara' and 'Haivata' respectively, as he names Qutb-ud-din as 'Kumbhadina'. (Jonaraja, p. 53). The Kashmir Muslim chroniclers mention the names as Sikandar and Haibat

90. Jonaraja states that Sultan Qutb-ud-din (Kumbhadina) died on the second day of the dark moon, in the month of Bhadra, in the year (44) 55, (Jonaraja p. 54). that is to say in August-September 1389. According to Persian chroniclers of Kashmir, he did in 796 A.H. (1393). (*Baharistan*, f. 25a.). Nizam-ud-din does not give the year, but he states that the sultan reigned for 15 years and 5 months. So far he agrees with

a reign of 15 years. He was buried at Qutbuddinpura[91] in Srinagar.

Jonaraja (*Tabaqat* III, p. 454). Firishta also gives 796 A.H. (Firishta, II, p. 339). Here Wolesley Haig follows neither Nizam-ud-din nor Firishta. He fixes 1393 and 1394. (Haig, *Cambridge India*, III, p. 297; *JRAS*, 1918, p. 454). Rodgers rests with 795 A.H. (1392). (*JASB*, 1885, p. 100). In the absence of numismatic or epigraphic evidence we must rely on Jonaraja

91. About the place of his burial there is again difference of opinion among Muslim chroniclers of Kashmir. According to Azam he was buried at Bachi Darwaza of the Hari Parbat fort. Hasan and Saif-ud-din Miskeen place it in the graveyard of Pir Haji Mohd. Sahib

CHAPTER V

The Reign of Terror

I

SULTAN SIKANDAR

Regency (1389-93)

SULTAN QUTB-UD-DIN was succeeded in 1389 by his elder son Shankar,[1] who was proclaimed Sultan Sikandar. He was a minor. Therefore his mother, assisted by two powerful ministers, Rai Madari and Sahaka,[2] acted as the regent, and exercised all royal powers. She was an energetic lady, extremely selfish and gifted with political sagacity and tact. She was the last woman to hold the reigns of government in Kashmir.

The early years of the regency were fraught with dangers. The claim of Sultan Sikandar, unsanctioned as it was by the will of the late king, was contested by his sister and her husband, Shah Muhammad. They raised a rebellion.[3] In a spirit of relentless vengeance and self-aggrandisement, the regent-mother ordered that both her daughter and son-in-law should be executed.[4] Then she managed the affairs

1. Jonaraja calls him 'Shringara'. Nizam-ud-din and Firishta name him 'Shankar'. (Jonaraja, p. 53; *Tabaqat*, III, p. 431; Firishta, II, p. 340). 'Shringara' and 'Shankar' are variants and probably corruption of 'Sikandar'. (Haig, *JRAS*, 1918, p. 454). Col. Briggs wrongly calls him 'Sugga'. (Briggs, Firishta, IV, p. 462)

2. Jonaraja names him 'Udaka'. (Jonaraja, p. 54). Nizam-ud-din and Firishta mention him by the name of 'Rai Madari'. (*Tabaqat, op. cit.*, p. 431; Firishta, *op. cit.*, p. 340). Hasan mentions the same name (*Tarikh-i-Hasan* (Ms.), II, p. 272). Rai Madari, as the name connotes, appears to be a Hindu. On the other hand, 'Sahaka' appears to be a corruption of 'Shah', a Muhammadan name

3. Jonaraja, p. 54

4. *Ibid.*; Haig, *Cambridge Hist. of India*, III, p. 279

of the state with a high hand and struck terror. She was extremely ambitious and, in all likelihood, anxious to rule in her own name. The succeeding events support this view. Her hands had not dried of the blood of her daughter and son-in-law, when Rai Madari, her chief adviser, killed Prince Haibat Khan with poison. Then he killed Sahaka,[5] his colleague, because he did not agree with the cunning diplomacy of the queen. Soon after, the Rai aimed at the life of Sultan Sikandar himself. But his meditated treason, somehow, attracted the notice of the young sultan. Having come of age and apprehending danger to his own life, Sikandar[6] boldly assumed the reins of government and got the *khutba* read and the coins minted in his own name.[7] Thus he frustrated the designs of Rai Madari and his mother. The Rai, however, was able to evade his impending doom when he offered to conquer Little Tibet which he subjugated. Soon, however, his success swelled his head and he raised a rebellion with the aim to usurp the throne. But he failed; he was arrested and put in prison where he committed suicide.[8]

II

SAIYID MUHAMMAD HAMADANI

The overthrow of the regency in 1393,[9] proved to be an event of tremendous importance. It marked the triumph

5. Jonaraja, p. 55; Firishta, p. 340. We do not agree with Rodgers and Wolesley Haig who assert that Rai Madari committed the double murder to secure undisputed retention of the throne for Sultan Sikandar

6. Jonaraja, p. 55

7. Rodgers, 'Coins of the Sultans of Kashmir', *JASB,* 1879, No. 4, p. 282 et. sq. Sultan Sikandar appears to have been the first sultan to issue silver coins

8. Jonaraja, pp. 55-56. We do not agree with Firishta and Haig: (Firishta (Luck), II, 340; *Cambridge Hist. India,* III, 279)

9. No authority gives a definite indication of the period of the regency or when Sultan Sikandar assumed regal powers. According to Jonaraja, the sultan had come of age and had made his party strong. (Jonaraja

of the Bihaqi Saiyids—*mullahs, maulavis,* and *ulama*—who looked forward to the future with high hopes. The young sultan remained accessible to them and susceptible to their influence in his own interests. They had succeeded in weaning him from the vicious influence of his mother and Rai Madari. Now they began to advance the cause of Islam in Kashmir, and decided that Sikandar should be the first undiluted Muslim ruler[10] of Kashmir.

The young sultan's associates and advisers consisted mainly of the Bihaqi Saiyids, who had left their home in Sabzwar led by Saiyid Mahmud Bihaqi after having been defeated by Timur. The natural beauty and quiet and pleasant milieu of the valley offered them almost all the climatic advantages of Samarqand, Bukhara and Persia, and opened out to them bright prospects of material and social advancement. Like the brothers of Joseph, they were followed by their brethren, especially after the fall of Persia and the surrounding territories to Timur.[11] This second convoy of Muslim refugees from Persia arrived in Kashmir in 1393 led by Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani, the son and successor of Saiyid Ali Hamadani.

Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani was born in 1372. He was hardly 12 years of age when his father died. He stepped into the *khilafat* of his father without any opposition. Then he entered Kashmir with his disciples. Sultan Sikandar accorded him a royal reception,[12] gave him jagirs for

(Dutt), p. 55). His party consisted of clericalists, who were led by Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani who arrived in Kashmir in 796 A.H. (1393). (Daud Mishkati, *Asrar-ul-Abrar* (Ms.), ff. 45a et. seq.; *Baharistan* (Ms.), f. 25b; *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik* (Ms), p. 29; *Tarikh-i-Azam* (Ms), p. 37). It may, therefore, be inferred that the Sultan assumed full powers in c. 1393. This is supported by the chronogram *'Ba-Sharah Dadah Riwaj'*. (*Baharistan*, f. 25b; *Tarikh-i-Azam* (Ms.), p. 41.) Wolesley Haig wrongly states that the sultan most probably succeeded in 796 A.H. (1393): (*JRAS*, 1918, p. 454)

10. *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 29

11. Percy Sykes, *History of Persia*, II, pp. 130-34

12. *Baharistan*, ff. 25b, 26a; *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 29; *Tarikh-i-Azam*, p. 37; Daud Mishkati. *Asrar-ul-Abrar*, f. 45a

Jonaraja writes, 'The king (Sikandar) had a fondness for the Yavanas

maintenance and built for him a *khanqa* on the site where the present Khanqa Maula (Shahi Hamadan's Mausoleum) stands. Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani on his part wrote a short treatise on Islamic religion for the sultan to study. Subsequently, the Timurid episode associated him with anti-Hindu deeds of the Saiyids, and he left Kashmir in 1405 after staying here for twelve years. In course of time, he gave ample proof of intellectual ability and passionate love for Islam.[13] Unlike his father he appears to have believed that the success of Islam was incompatible with peaceful methods. And he decided to employ all those militant methods which are associated with the title *ghazi*. He met much opposition from Saiyid Hisari, a noble Musalman and a good mystic who compelled him to leave Kashmir.

The conditions in Kashmir were quite favourable for his schemes. The sultan was under the influence of the Saiyids. They looked upon Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani as their spiritual head and symbol of their unity and strength. As the son of the 'Shah-i-Hamadan' of the Kashmiris his name and person had great appeal. Then similarity of their age brought both Sultan Sikandar and Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani closer to each other. Their relations were cemented when Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani presented a precious diamond[14] to Sultan Sikandar. From this time his influence began to grow day by day. His first lucky shot was Suha Bhatt, the powerful Brahman Prime Minister of the sultan. Without any fuss he succeeded to convert him to Islam and named him Malik Saif-ud-din, and then married his daughter. All these favourable circumstances were by themselves sufficient inducements to Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani and his advisers to exercise implacable opposition

(Muslims). ... Many Yavanas left other sovereigns and took shelter under this king who was renowned for charity. As the bright moon is among the stars so was Muhammad of Mera country (Mir Muhammad Hamadani) among these Yavanas; and although he was a boy he became their chief by learning.' (Jonaraja, p. 57)

13. *Baharistan*, ff. 25a-26b

14. *Tarikh-i-Azam*, p. 37 and *Tarikh-i-Kabir*, p. 25

to Hindu religion and culture.[15] And external circumstances too helped them considerably.

III

INVASION OF TIMUR (1398)

It took five years (1393-98) for Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani and his fanatic followers to gain complete control over the mind of the young sultan and his renegade Prime Minister. They seized the opportunity to launch *jihad* in Kashmir when Timur invaded India.

In 1398 Timur despatched his grandson Rustum with Fulad Bahadur and Zain-ud-din from Delhi to Kashmir to ask for the allegiance and loyalty of Sultan Sikandar.[16] It was his policy to annihilate all independent Muslim rulers

15. Jonaraja, p. 59; *Baharistan*, f. 26b; *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 30; *Tarikh-i-Azam*, p. 41; Firishta, *op. cit.*, p. 341

16. *Malfusat-i-Timuri*, p. 582; *Zafarnama* (Bib. Ind.), II, p. 164; *Matala-us-Saadin* (Rampur Ms.), p. 200; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, III, p. 470

The circumstances which seem to have persuaded Amir Timur to send to Kashmir a friendly diplomatic mission in preference to launching an attack upon the valley were: (1) geographical difficulties to reach the country. (*Mulfusat-i-Timuri*, *Ibid.*, p. 591; *Zafarnama* (*Ibid.*), p. 180; *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), p. 432.) (2) Kashmir was a Muhammadan state and her sultan was under the influence of Saiyids, which indicated victory, as well as, prosperity. (*Malfusat-i-Timuri*, (*Ibid.*), p. 276). (3) Timur aimed at gaining the allegiance of the sultan of Kashmir against the neighbouring Punjab hill states of Kangra and Jammu which were Hindu and traditionally supposed to possess heaps of wealth in their temples. (*Malfusat-i-Timuri*; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, III, pp. 461-63, 470.)

We find a reference to the invasion of Timur and sending of his envoys to the court of Sultan Sikandar in the chronicle of Jonaraja. He states, 'the king of the Mlecchas (Muslims) had plundered Dilli. . . . and afraid of the king of Kashmir gave two large elephants to the Sultan of Kashmir.' This is not mentioned by the historians of Timur. But Nizam-ud-din, Firishta and the author of the *Baharistan* explicitly state that Timur despatched his envoys with two elephants and some presents for the Sultan of Kashmir. (*Tabaqat*, III, p. 431; Firishta, II, p. 340; *Baharistan*, f. 27a)

within his reach to ensure the permanence of his far-flung dynastic empire. When the envoys arrived in Srinagar, the sultan, guided by the advice of the anti-Timurid elements at his court who knew the might and mind of Timur, discreetly accorded to them a royal reception, and protested his allegiance to the Amir. And on his part too he sent with them Maulana Nur-ud-din Badakhshani[17] as his *vakil* to the Amir, with a letter couched in most humble and loyal terms—that Sikandar was an humble servant of the Amir, that he intended to wait upon and pay his homage to the conqueror, and that he would remain at Bhimbar to receive the commands.[18] All these protestations were meant to keep Timur out of Kashmir.

The Kashmir envoy reached Timur's camp in the vicinity of Jammu on 24 March 1399.[19] Here the rapacious financial ministers of Timur told him that Sultan Sikandar should furnish a present of 30,000 horses and 100,000 silver *tankas*

17. *Malfusat-i-Timuri, op. cit.,* p. 582; *Zafarnama, op. cit.,* II, p. 164. Maulana Nur-ud-din is Maulana Nur-ud-din Badakhshani, the author of *Khulasat-ul-Manaqib. (Baharistan,* f. 25a)

18. *Malfusat-i-Timuri;* Elliot and Dowson, *History of India,* III, p. 470. The place is named 'Jabhan' *recte* 'Jahan', Jibban, Chiban or Chibban. (Elliot and Dowson, *History of India,* III, pp. 470, 475, 518 and 521.) But it is 'Chibhan' which is the old name of Bhimbar. (Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.,* I, p. 134; *Ain* (Jarrett), II, p. 347 note.) Chibhan is the country of the Chibs extending from Manawar Tawi to Jehlam. (*Imperial Gazetteer,* XV, p. 100). During the campaign of Timur it was known as Chibhan, which is the early name of Bhimbar known to Muhammadan writers. (*Ibid.*). It includes most of the country in which Muhammadan states were situated. (Vogel, *Panjab Hill States,* I, p. 49; Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History,* p. 358.) The ancient name of the country lying between the Chinab and Jehlam was Darvabhisara. (Leitner, *Dardistan,* p. 10; Stein, *Rajat,* II, 432). Identification of Jehlam with Bhimbar is further cleared from the notes in the *Malfusat-i-Timuri.* (Elliot and Dowson, *History of India,* III, p. 474) and *Zafarnama* (*Zafarnama* (Bib. Ind.), p. 521), where it is located in the frontier territories of Kashmir. Bhimbar (Lat. 32° 58′, Long. 74° 8′) lies on the direct route connecting the Salt Range in Central Punjab with Kashmir *via* Rajauri. It is at a distance of 30 miles from Gujrat and 148 miles from Srinagar. (Bates: *Gazetteer,* p. 148, and Drew, *Jummoo,* pp. 90 and 525)

19. See footnote 16 *supra*

of Alauddin Khalji each weighing two-and-a-half miscals.[20] He was literally stunned. However, he managed to escape and reported the matter to Sikandar who was waiting at Bhimbar. Filled with greatest fright, the sultan forthwith set off to Kashmir to see how he could collect the presents for Timur. In reality this enormous demand had never been the intention of Timur himself. However, when Timur came to know about it at Jammu he regretted and reprimanded his envoys for asking too much and immediately despatched Zain-ud-din and Saiyid Muhammad Madani[21] to Sultan Sikandar to inform him that he should simply wait upon him after twenty-eight days on the banks of the Indus *without* bringing any presents,[22] because he had in the meantime received secret reports of grave disturbances in the

20. *Malfusat-i-Timuri;* Elliot and Dowson, *History of India,* III, p. 470; *Malfusat-i-Timuri* (Rampur Ms.), p. 582. Sharaf-ud-din Yazdi mentions thirty thousand horses and one lakh gold mohars. (*Zafarnama* (Bib. Indi.), II, p. 164; Haig, *Cambridge India,* III, p. 279.) *Malfusat* is more trustworthy. Nizam-ud-din mentions only 1,000 horses. (*Tabaqat,* III, p. 432)

21. Saiyid Muhammad Madani belonged to Medina. He had been to Mecca also as a representative of Timur to ascertain the reaction of the notables of Mecca and Medina towards the Amir. He was on his arrival fittingly rewarded and honoured by his master. (*Malfusat-i-Timuri,* p. 518; *Zafarnama,* II, pp. 46-47; *Matala-us-Saadin* (Rampur Ms.), f. 190a; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India,* IV, p. 93). According to Kashmir chroniclers Saiyid Muhammad Madani accompanied the envoys of Timur to Kashmir. But once he saw the charming valley of Kashmir, he decided to settle down here permanently. He returned to Timur with presents from the Sultan of Kashmir and obtained his permission to settle down in Kashmir. He returned with his family and made Rainawari, Srinagar, his residence. Sultan Zain-ul-Abiden attracted by his piety, took him to Nowshera, his capital, and put him up there. (Daud Mishkati, *Asrar-ul-Abrar,* ff. 45-76). Saiyid Muhammad Madani is regarded as a great spiritual leader by the Shias of Kashmir. It is doubtful if he was a Shia, because Timur preferred the company of Sunni Saiyids of the Hanafi order. (*Malfusat-i-Timuri* (Rampur Ms.), pp. 275-76.) Saiyid Muhammad died in Kashmir in 848 A.H. (1444) and was buried in Mohalla Madin Sahib at Botakadal, Srinagar, since known after his name. His mosque was originally a temple. (Nicholl, *Archaeo. Survey Report,* 1906-7, pp. 162-63; Sir John Marshall, *Note on the Archaeo. Survey of Kashmir,* 1908)

22. *Malfusat-i-Timuri,* p. 583; Elliot and Dawson, *History of India,* III, 470; Haig, *Cambridge India,* III, p. 279

eastern part of his empire and decided to leave his army behind and to proceed to Samarqand as soon as was possible. Unfortunately, in the meantime the Kashmiris had suffered the worst effects of the demand.

IV

ESTABLISHMENT OF ISLAM

The young and inexperienced Sultan Sikandar had naturally become alarmed with the exorbitant demand made upon him by Timur's officers. Even the very thought of the demand bewildered him. But his grave predicament was seized as a golden opportunity by the Saiyids. Maybe they had been waiting for it. They exploited it to further the cause of Islam.

Undoubtedly, it was impossible for Sultan Sikandar to assemble the presents for Timur. At the same time, he was unaware of Timur's orders countermanding the demand as well as his departure from India in a hurry. A drowning man clutches at a straw; and the innocent Sikandar was shown hopes of deliverance by the Saiyids led by Suha Bhatt when they prevailed upon him to demolish Hindu temples and convert their so-called precious images into ready money. Firishta[23] writes,

> 'Suha Bhatt strove hard so that the sultan at his suggestions ordered that all Brahmans and learned Hindus should become Musalman, and those who did not accept Islam should leave the realm (i.e., the valley): the *qashqa* (holy mark) was not to be put on forehead, widows were not to be buried with the corpses of their husbands, and idols of gold and silver were to be melted in the royal mint and the metal used for the currency. Owing to this a great calamity befell on the Hindus of the region, who were mostly Brahmans. Many Brahmans,

23. Firishta, II, p. 341; Rodgers, *JASB*, 1885, p. 101; Haig, *Cambridge Hist. India*, III, p. 280

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23. Firishta, II, p. 341; Rodgers, *JASB*, 1885, p. 101; Haig, *Cambridge Hist. India*, III, p. 280

who could not either accept Islam or leave the country, committed suicide, others left their homeland and went to foreign countries.'

In fact, such a scheme was not an innovation, unique and unprecedented in the history of Kashmir. Many a famous shrine had on many occasions helped unscrupulous Hindu kings in their financial troubles in the past; the worst case was that of King Harsa[24] (1089-1101). Considering in this light Sultan Sikandar's grave predicament, if he succumbed to the specious arguments of Suha Bhatt, his renegade Prime Minister, and exhortations of the bigoted Saiyids, it should not surprise us. But once the sultan sanctioned to demolish the temples, the zeal of the fanatics seems to have run amuck. To quote Jonaraja,[25] 'There was no city, no town, no wood, where Suha Bhatt, the Turushka (Muslim), left the temples of gods unbroken. Of the images which once had existed, the name alone was left.' The famous temples, which were either completely destroyed or ruthlessly damaged beyond repair, were those of Martand,[26] Cakradhara, Tripureshvara and Sureshvara, and

24. *Rajat*, V, 161 etc. sq. & *Rajat*, VII, 1087-98

25. Jonaraja, p. 60

26. The famous temple of 'Martand', which was dedicated to the Sun-god, is situated in Matan (Bavan) in the Anantnag (Islamabad) district. For the architectural and historical notices of the temple, see Vigne, *Travels*, I, pp. 360-94 sqq; Hugel, *Kashmir*, ii, p. 453 sqq; Cunningham, *Arian Order of Architecture in Kashmir*, *JASB*, 1848, p. 258; Fergusson, *Indian & Eastern Architecture*, p. 285 sqq; Stein, *Anc. Geog.*, para III, *Ain* (Jarrett), II, 358

'Cakradhara' (Kashmiri Tsakadar) is situated in Bijbihara. (*Rajat*, I, 38 and Dr. Stein's note; Vigne, *Travels*, II, p. 23 sqq; Buhler, *op. cit.*, p. 18; Bates, *Gazetteer*, pp. 150-51; Stein, *Anc. Geog.*, para 107.)

'Tripureshvara' is situated in village Triphar, at a distance of about three miles from the Dull Lake. (*Rajat*, V, 46 and Dr. Stein's note).

'Sureshvara' temple is situated in village Isbar, on the bank of the Dull Lake. (*Rajat*, V, 37, and Stein's *note*)

Avantipur (Kash. Vontpor. Long. 75° 3′, Lat. 33° 55′) was originally founded by Avantivarman. (*Rajat*, V, 44-45, and Stein's note; Forster, *Journey from Bengal to England*, II, p. 9; Moorcroft, *Travels*, II, p. 244; Cunningham, *JASB*, 1848, p. 275 sqq; Cowie, *JASB*, 1865, p. 121 sqq)

two at Advantipur and Paraspor.[27] The extant ruins of some of these temples are a standing proof of the mischief wrought by the malevolent Saiyids, who in their fiendish exultation gave Sikandar their most coveted title of *'But-shikan'*,[28] the iconoclast, by which name he has since become known in history.

But the fanatical zeal of the Saiyids was not quenched by the destruction of Hindu temples and desecration of their images. They rocked the land with their tempests and thunderbolts. They were determined to destroy Hinduism in Kashmir root and branch. And at the instance of Suha Bhatta, whose zeal in the persecution of his former co-religionists is perhaps unparalleled in the history of religious turncoats,[29] orders[30] were issued abolishing *sati*, for-

27. Paraspor of the Persian chroniclers is the ancient 'Parihasapura' comprising the little tract of land lying between the marshes on the left bank of the Jehlam close to Shadipur. For its ancient history see: *Rajat*, IV, 194-204 and Dr. Stein's note F; *Rajat* (Stein), II, pp. 300-3; Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. India*, p. 102; *JASB*, 1848, pp. 269 and 324; Vigne, *Travels*, I, p. 37 and Wilson, *Essay*, p. 49

The Persian chroniclers writing of the destruction of Hindu temples in the reign of Sikandar include Paraspor temple among them (*Ain* (Jarrett), II, p. 364; *Tabaqat*, III, 433). The names of the temples demolished in this reign are not mentioned in the *Baharistan* and *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*. Azam, Narayan Kaul, Birbal Kachru and Hasan mention them. Jonaraja does not mention the temple of Paraspor in his list of demolished temples. While mentioning the destruction caused to the temples at Paraspor, Abul Fazl, Nizam-ud-din and Firishta, whose statements were reproduced by Azam, Narayan Kaul, Birbal Kachru and Hasan, record a curious story about the discovery of a copper plate bearing Sanskrit inscription which foretold that the temples would be demolished. (*Ain* (Jarrett), II, 364; *Tabaqat*, III, pp. 432-33; Firishta, p. 341)

28. All European and Indian writers have dubbed Sikandar by this epithet. Dr. Stein, too, relying on his hasty study of Jonaraja states that the fanatical zeal of a single Muhammadan ruler, Sikandar, who earned for himself the characteristic epithet 'Butshikast', the idol-breaker, helps only to put into stronger relief the tolerance, or we may say, the indifference of the princes who preceded or followed him. (Stein, *Rajat*, Intro., I, pp. 130-31)

29 and 30. Jonaraja states, 'Suha Bhatta (after demolishing the temples) felt the satisfaction, and with the (help of the) leaders of the army (meaning

bidding the use of *tika* (religious mark) on the forehead, and imposing the *jizya*. To complete their mad scheme, the Hindus were offered the choice of Islam, exile, or death. Then all the available literature on Hindu religion and culture was collected and sunk in the Dull Lake and the extant causeway, known as *Sad-i-Ishbari*,[31] was built upon this material. Then the Saiyids made Sikandar to issue orders forbidding distillation and sale of drinks, beating

the Saiyids, *ulama* and the newly converted Kashmiris) tried to destroy the caste of the people... the Brahmans declared that they would die rather than lose their caste and Suha Bhatta subjected them to a heavy fine (*jizya*) because they held to their caste' (Jonaraja, p. 60). Mirza Haidar Dughlat states, 'Qutb-ud-din was succeeded by his son Sikandar, who established the Musalman faith and destroyed *all* the idol temples.' (*Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), p. 432). Abul Fazl states that the sultan overthrew idolatrous shrines and persecuted people not of his faith (*Ain* Jarrett), II, p. 387). Nizam-ud-din Ahmad says that the Sultan completed the destruction of Hindu temples and their idols (*Tabaqat*, III, p. 432). Firishta gives a detailed picture of the anti-Hindu policy of the sultan. He states: 'The sultan offered to Hindus choice between Islam and exile. He forbade them the use of *tika* and the performance of *sati*. Idols made of gold and silver were melted down. Many Brahmans committed suicide rather than lose their caste; since in those days travelling out of the country was more dangerous, some became Musalmans out of fear' (Firishta, II, 341). Haidar Malik and the author of the *Baharistan* state that the sultan used his energy and resources to destroy Hinduism. Under his orders many temples with their idols were broken and the Hindus were made to pay *jizya*. (*Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 30; *Baharistan*, f. 26b.) The author of the *Baharistan* holds Suha Bhatta responsible for this. Modern European and Indian historians reproduce Firishta. (Rodgers, *JASB*, 1885, p. 101; Haig, *Cambridge Hist. India*, III, p. 280; Lawrence, *op. cit.*, pp. 190-91; Kak, *Anc. Monuments*, p. 31.) So we come across two schools of thought on this subject. Jonaraja and the author of the *Baharistan* alone hold Suha Bhatta primarily responsible for the destruction of Hinduism and the Hindus. Other authorities attribute it to Sultan Sikandar himself. Here we have to note that Jonaraja is a Brahman and Suha Bhatta too was a Brahman and the chronicler's hate for Suha Bhatta appears obvious

31. Srivara (Dutt), p. 145; *Tarikh-i-Azam* (Ms.), p 35; *Tarikh-i-Hasan* (Ms.), II, p. 278. The Sad-i-Ishbari, also called Vitalanmarg, is the extant causeway running across the Dull Lake connecting Rainawari (Srinagar) with Ishbari (Nishat Bagh). Abul Fazl states that this causeway was built by Zain-ul-Abiden. (*Ain* (Jarrett), II, p. 360.) But it does not appear to be so as neither Jonaraja nor Srivara attribute it to that sultan

drums, playing music, gambling and holding convivial parties,[32] in order to establish pure and unadulterated Islam, as it was in the days of the Prophet and his *khalifas*. Then they rebuilt the Jama Masjid[33] in Nowahatta,[34] and the mosque of Khanqah Muala[35] was built in commemoration of Saiyid Ali Hamadani. Two other big mosques were built in Bavan and Bijbihara. All these mosques were built from the material of the demolished Hindu temples; and the spacious courtyard of the Lokeshvari temple in Srinagar was converted into the *Mazar-i-Salatin*.[36]

Sikandar died in May-June[37] 1413, after nominating Mir Khan, the eldest of his three sons, his successor. He was buried in the *Mazar-i-Salatin*.

32. *Tabaqat*, III, p. 433; Firishta, II, 341; *Baharistan* f. 26a; *Tarikh-i-Azam*, pp. 35-36; *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, II, p. 278

33. The present extensive mosque was built in the reign of Sultan Sikandar. Jahangir also states that the mosque was first built by Sultan Sikandar. (*Tuzuk* (R&B), II, p. 142; *Baharistan*, f. 35a; *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 31)

34. Jonaraja's Sikandarapura became known as Nowahatta. (Jonaraja, p. 59; *Baharistan*, f. 35a; *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, II, pp. 277-78)

35. *Tarikh-i-Hasan* (Ms.), II, p. 277, and Lowenthal, *JASB*, 1864, p. 279

36. *Baharistan*, f. 35a; *Tarikh-i-Azam* (Ms.), p. 37; *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, p. 276
This extensive graveyard is walled round by massive blocks of stone which clearly indicate that the site was originally a temple or monastery. It has two sections. The north-eastern section is spread over with the tombs of the sultan and members of the royal family. The vast section below it is overcrowded with tombs of the *ulama*, and chief dignitaries of the time of the sultans. It is still used as a graveyard by a section of the Muslims in the city. Here we come across the tomb of the mother of Zain-ul-Abiden, which lies in an ancient temple and also that of Mirza Haidar Dughlat. The graveyard is situated on the right bank of the Jehlam at a distance of 200 yards below the Zainakadal bridge in Srinagar

37. There is confusion regarding the year of the death of the sultan, and the total period of his reign. According to Jonaraja the sultan died at nightfall on the eighth lunar day of Jaishtha (Jaith) in the Laukika era (44)89. (Jonaraja, p. 61.) This shows that he died in May-June 1413-14. This date is also accepted by the author of the *Baharistan* who quotes 816 A.H. (1413). (*Baharistan*, f. 37a.) According to Firishta the sultan having reigned for 22 years and 9 months died in 819 A.H. (1416) (Firishta, p. 391). Narayan Kaul counts 25 years and 6 days (*Tarikh-i-*

V

EXAGGERATION OF DESTRUCTION OF TEMPLES

Before we close our account of the reign of Sikandar, it is worth while to investigate how far he was responsible for the destruction of Hindu temples and, secondly, to estimate the nature and extent of resistance put up by the Hindus.

Jonaraja,[38] writing less than fifty years after the death of Sikandar, accuses him unequivocally of 'having destroyed *all* temples of gods'. Mirza Haidar Dughlat, who ruled over Kashmir (1540-50) and travelled all over the valley, writes: 'Sultan Sikandar established the Musalman faith and destroyed *all* idol temples.'[39] But while describing the 'wonders' of Kashmir, in which he places the idol temples of the country 'first and foremost',[40] he states that 'in and around Kashmir (meaning Srinagar) there are more than 150 temples'. After giving a first-hand account of their size, style and beauty, he shows great astonishment when he counts hundred and fifty temples. Abul Fazl,[41] who wrote his account of Kashmir less than fifty years after Mirza Haidar, states; 'Sikandar was a rigid follower of the religious tradi-

Narayan Kaul, 64a). Haidar Malik places his death in 821 A.D. (1418). (*Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 31.) Birbal Kachru and Hasan state that the sultan died in 820 A.H. (1417). (*Tarikh-i-Birbal Kachru* (Ms.), p. 70; *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, II, p. 286). Col. Haig and Rodgers follow Firishta. (Haig, *Cambridge India*, III, p. 280.) Longworth Dames places it in 1410 (*Encyclopaedia Islam*, II, p. 793)

Considering these conflicting views, we can only rely on the date (1413) which is quoted by Saiyid Muhammad Bihaqi, an influential contemporary of the sultan, and on Jonaraja and the author of *Baharistan*

38. Jonaraja, p. 60

39. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (R&E), p. 433. The manuscript used by Sir Denison Ross states 'Tamam Butkhanaha' instead of '*Butkhanaha*', which construction we come across in the other two manuscripts. And the description of wonders of Kashmir given by Mirza Haidar (*Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), p. 426) and subsequent references clearly show that *all* temples had not been demolished

40. *Ibid.*, p. 426

41. *Ain* (Jarrett), II, p. 387

tion and a bigot, and he overthrew idolatrous shrines and persecuted people not of his faith'! Further on he adds: 'The ancient temples of Kashmir inspire astonishment. At the present day many of them are in ruins.'[42] Nizam-ud-din[43] states that the sultan was thorough in demolishing Hindu temples. His panegyrist Firishta[44] adds that Sikandar left no stone unturned to destroy Hindu temples and their images, most of which were ruins. The historians[45] of Akbar also record curious stories about Sanskrit inscriptions on copper plates which were discovered when the temples at Bijbihara and Paraspor were being demolished in the time of Sikandar. These statements have been reproduced by local chroniclers, namely, Birbal Kachru and Hasan,[46] without using their own imigination and judgement.

Jahangir,[47] writing in 1623, states: 'The lofty temples of Kashmir which were built before the manifestation of Islam are still in existence, and are all built of stones.' But he does not give us their number. Mirza Haidar Dughlat does not seem to have made any exaggeration when he counted 150 temples. Vigne,[48] who visited Kashmir during 1834-38 and published in 1842 a narrative of his travels, counted as many as 70 to 80 temples. As regards the remaining 80 temples, we have to bear in mind that there have been other iconoclasts, too, in the history of Kashmir. Shahjahan[49] was a glaring example.

Obviously, therefore, Sikandar had not destroyed *all* temples. Jonaraja, and all those who have reproduced his account, are guilty of exaggeration when they accuse the

42. *Ibid.*, p. 349
43. *Tabaqat,* III, pp. 432-33
44. Firishta (Luck), p. 341
45. *Ain* (Jarrett), II, p. 364; *Tabaqat,* III, pp. 432-33; Firishta, p. 341
46. *Tarikh-i-Narayan Kaul* (Ms.), ff. 45a, 45b; *Tarikh-i-Birbal Kachru* (Ms.), pp. 62-63. Hasan reproduces Nizam-ud-din and Firishta. (*Tarikh-i-Hasan* (Ms.), II, pp. 275-77)
47. *Tuzuk* (R&B), II, p. 150
48. Vigne, *Travels*, I, 405
49. Saksena, *Shahjahan*, p. 294; Lahori, *Badshahnama* (Bib. Ind), I, p. 402. For Shahjahan's iconoclastic policy in Kashmir, see *Amal-i-Saleh* (Bib. Ind), II, p. 41; Bernier, *Travels*, p. 400

sultan of having destroyed *all* temples. What could possibly have happened was that under the mandate of the sultan some temples which were supposed to contain precious images were destroyed to provide wherewithal to meet the demands made by the ministers of Timur. Jonaraja[50] does not make any mention of the ultra-communal legislation of the sultan beyond his interference with the Brahmanical caste. But the Persian chroniclers state that he made it practically impossible for the Hindus to live freely in the Hindu environment. According to Jonaraja,[51] these mad methods were resorted to in the reign of his son and successor Ali Shah. It may also be borne in mind that Sikandar was only a lad of 18 when he assumed full powers after overthrowing his mother's regency, which, for all practical purposes, was a Hindu clique. This clique, on one pretext or the other, had killed almost all the important members of the royal family who were Muslims. In these circumstances, Sikandar was compelled to woo the Saiyids and the ulama who became his 'strong party' and assured him security against all internal and external danger for a period of twenty years. Add to it, the invasion of Timur and the exorbitant demand made by his ministers on Sikandar. Therefore, when he ordered the demolition of the temples he was not setting an example but only availing of set precedents in a particular crisis. Nevertheless, one of the great distortions of history was twisted by our Persian chroniclers and following them by modern historians when they emphasised that Sikandar was a thorough iconoclast, the great 'Butshikast', and an enemy of Hinduism.

We cannot, however, exonerate the Hindu community from their cowardice and pusillanimity. Most of them cowardly embraced Islam simply to be allowed to exist in the land of their birth, while a larger number committed suicide. When their religion, culture, life and liberty were in danger, they should have made a common cause and offered

50. Jonaraja (Dutt), p. 65
51. *Ibid.*, pp. 65-67

united resistance especially when they predominated numerically. We are told that only the Brahmans resisted long and in consequence were tormented and tortured with the result that only a couple of thousands were left behind to preserve and maintain ancient religion and traditional culture. Other castes, who outnumbered the Brahman community exceedingly, failed to make any sacrifice. It is a very sad commentary on the state of social and moral degeneration and degradation which had by this time generally set in the Hindu society in Kashmir.

But the Kashmiri Hindu was no exception. The state of Hindu society throughout India was the same. The Hindu rule in Kashmir was displaced by the Muslim rule nearly two centuries after its downfall in northern India, not because the Hindus of Kashmir possessed any special qualities of resistance. They were saved by the high mountain ranges which threatened the Turkish conquerors whereas the smooth and sunny plains of the rest of India offered them great attraction.

VI

SULTAN ALI SHAH (1413-20)

Mir Khan, the eldest son of Sikandar, ascended the throne in 1413 with the title of Ali Shah.

Ali Shah was a boy and ignorant of the art of government. Therefore Suha Bhatta continued to act as Prime Minister.[52] So long as Sikandar lived, Suha Bhatta could not freely persecute the Hindus.[53] But his death released his energies and those of the zealous *mullahs* to start upon an implacable crusade against the unbelievers. They forced them to accept Islam at the point of bayonet, under pressure of heavy taxation and discriminatory laws. Their treatment of the Brahman community, in particular, became more and more severe. They were heavily fined and tor-

52. *Ibid.*, p. 61
53. *Ibid.*, p. 65

mented so much so that, to quote Jonaraja,[54] 'some Brahmans killed themselves by poison, some by rope, others by drowning themselves in water, others by falling from a precipice, while others burnt themselves'. The rest fled the country. The reign of terror, however, came to an end when Suha Bhatta died of consumption in 1417.[55]

54. *Ibid.*, p. 66; *Tabaqat*, III, p. 434; *Firishta*, p. 341
55. Jonaraja (Dutt), p. 68

CHAPTER VI

The Sultanate at Zenith

(The Reign of Sultan Zain-ul-Abiden 1420-70)

I

BATTLE OF THANNA (1420)

THE DEATH OF SUHA BHATTA left Ali Shah without wisdom and power. His great rival was his brother, Shahi Khan, who had rebelled against the party of his father and entertained great love of the subjects.[1] Ali Shah was therefore compelled to appoint him Prime Minister. Shortly after he resolved to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca.[2] He left Kashmir after appointing Shahi Khan as regent. But subsequent events show that he did not sincerely mean to abdicate in favour of Shahi Khan nor was he serious about undertaking the pilgrimage. It was only a stratagem to get rid of his popular brother.

When Ali Shah arrived at Jammu on his way to Mecca, he was prevailed upon by his father-in-law, Raja Bhimdev[3]

1. Jonaraja, pp. 69, 107

2. *Ibid.*, p. 70; *Ain* (Jarrett), II, p. 38; *Baharistan*, f. 40a; *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 31; *Tarikh-i-Narayan Kaul*, f. 46; *Tarikh-i-Azam*, p. 40; *Rajdarshani*, f. 55b; *Tarikh-i-Hasan* (Ms.), p. 290. Nizam-ud-din and Firishta are of opinion that Sultan Ali Shah determined to see the world after having nominated Shahi Khan as regent. (*Tabaqat*, III, p. 434; Firishta, II, p. 342). European historians also hold this view. (Haig, *Camb. India*, III, p. 280; *JRAS*, 1918, p. 455; Jarrett, *JASB*, 1880, p. 18)

3. Jonaraja, p. 71. All authorities except Abul Fazl are of opinion that Ali Shah was the son-in-law of the Raja of Jammu. It was not surprising in those days for a Hindu raja to have married his daughter to a Muhammadan prince when Jammu was subject to Kashmir. (Vogel, *Panjab Hill States*, II, p. 533.) Apart from the fact that intercommunal marriages were not uncommon (Rinchan as Muhammadan married Kotarani, a Hindu; the sons, daughters and grandsons of Shahmir intermarried with Hindus), we have also to note that this Raja of Jammu

of Jammu, to forego his quixotic decision. Ali Shah abandoned the thought of pilgrimage and returned to recover his throne with the support of the combined forces of the rajas of Jammu and Rajauri.[4] And Shahi Khan left Kashmir without giving him a fight. He took refuge with Jasrath, the chief of the Khukhar[5] tribe, at Sialkot in 1419.

Jasrath was the son of Shaikha Khukhar. In 1394 he had created disturbances in Lahore. He was therefore forced to quit Lahore by Sarang Khan, fief-holder of Dibalpur, on behalf of Sultan Muhammad Shah II. Four years later he joined Timur and acted as his guide and informer, and received money and favours from him.[6] Subsequently he incurred the displeasure of Timur who put him under arrest along with those who had taken shelter with him.[7] Then he disappeared from Indian history for some time.

appears to have been the same person whom Timur in 1398 had converted to Islam. (*Zafarnama*: Elliot and Dowson, *Hist. of India*, III, p. 472.) He retained the Jammu raj and married his daughter to Ali Shah of Kashmir. Against this trustworthy evidence the author of *Rajdarshani* makes a fantastic statement that this girl was the raja's slave-daughter. (*Rajdarshani*, ff. 55a-55b.) For the identification of the 'Madra' of Jonaraja (Jonaraja, *Ibid.*) with Jammu of the Persian chronicles, see *Mahabharata*, Karna-Prava, *LIX*, 153-54; Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, XV, pp. 107-19; Vogel, *Ibid.*, pp. 514-18

4. *Tabaqat*, III, p. 434; Firishta, p. 342; Haig, *Camb. India*, III, p. 280; *JRAS* 1918, p. 455; Vogel, *Jour. Pun. Hist. Soc.* 1925, IX, (Part II), p. 144

5. Jonaraja, p. 94. According to Mr. Delmerick, the Khukhars of Muhammadan histories were the Ghakkars, a tribe settled in the Rawalpindi district of Western Punjab. (Delmerick, 'History of Ghakkars', *JASB*, 1871, No. 1, pp. 67-101.) Major Raverty states that Khukhar and Ghakkar are two distinct races. This view is also upheld by Mr. Rose. (Raverty, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 455n, 477n and 1043n; Rose, 'The Khakhars and the Ghakkars in Punjab History', (*Ind. Anti.*, xxxvi, 1907, p. 1, et. sqq; Haig, *Camb. India*, III, p. 280.) Yahiya Sirhindi calls him Jasrath (Shaikha) Khakhar (Ghakhar). (*Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* (Bib. Ind.), p. 193.) Nizam-ud-din calls him Jasrath Khukhar: *Tabaqat*, III, p. 434. Col. Briggs writes, 'Jasrath Ghakkar'. (Firishta (Briggs), IV, p. 469). Badauni mentions Jasrath Khukhar. (*Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* (Bib. Ind.), I, p. 289.) Considering these notices, we might safely conclude that Jasrath was a Khukhar (Khokar)

6. *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi;* Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 53

7. *Malfuzat-i-Timuri;* Elliot and Dowson, *Ibid.*, III, p. 473; *Zafarnama;* Elliot and Dowson, *Ibid.*, p. 485; *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* (Basu), p. 173

Perhaps he was taken to Samarqand. From Samarqand he managed somehow to secure his release after the death of Timur in 1405. He returned to his homeland. Soon he seized Jullundur and Kalanur and regained his power and influence in northern Punjab.[8] In October/November 1419, he gave shelter to Prince Shahi Khan of Kashmir and espoused his cause against his enemies with sincerity and vigour. In fact, his aim was to use men and material of Kashmir in his projected attempt to seize the kingdom of Delhi.[9]

But it was very difficult to wage war against Kashmir during winter. However, in May-June 1420, as soon as the summer set in Shahi Khan accompanied by Jasrath and his army marched on Kashmir. The invaders took the well-known Bhimbar-Rajauri route. When they reached Thanna,[10]

8. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* (Raverty), p. 368n; Haig, *JRAS*, 1918, pp. 455-56

9. Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* (Bib. Ind.), I, p. 289

10. According to Jonaraja the issue was decided in the neighbourhood of 'Mudgaravyala'. (Jonaraja (Dutt), pp. 74-75.) This name is not traceable among our available records. Fortunately, we find a clue in the histories of Yahiya Sirhindi and Badauni. *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* records: 'In the month of *Jamad-ul-Awwal*, 823 A.H. (May-June 1420), Sultan Ali (Shah), King of Kashmir, who took his cohorts to Thatha, had on his way back been opposed by Jasrath Khukhar when the Sultan's army was driven pell-mell, a portion being still in Thatha, and part only came out. Incapable of sustaining the attack, it made a stampede and his luggage and provisions were plundered'. (Yahiya Sirhindi, *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* (Basu), p. 200; text (*Bib. Ind.*) p. 194). Badauni while describing the adventure of Jasrath Khukhar states: 'In the year (824 A.H.) Jasrath Khukhar, son of Shaikha Khukhar, raised a rebellion because he had taken unawares Sultan Ali, the King of Kashmir, who had started with the intention of conquering Thatha, and had defeated him in one of the mountain-passes, a vast amount of plunder falling into his hands.' (Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* (*Bib. Ind.*), I, p. 289). That Shahi Khan defeated his brother with the help of Jasrath Khukhar is also accepted by Abul Fazl, Nizam-ud-din and Firishta. But they do not mention the exact place where the two brothers fought though they place it in the Punjab. (*Ain* (Jarrett), II, pp. 387-88; *Tabaqat*, III, p. 434, Firishta, II, p. 342). There is confusion among Persian chroniclers of Kashmir on the subject. The author of the *Baharistan* does not mention this event at all though he makes mention of Jasrath. (*Baharistan* ff. 39a and 41a.) Haidar Malik, Narayan Kaul and Hasan assert that the battle was fought at Uri.

which was then a compact village at a distance of 14 miles from Rajauri, they occupied a safe and defensive position. Here they were joined by the troops of the Raja of Rajauri who was now against Ali Shah as he had laid waste his

(*Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 32; *Tarikh-i-Narayan Kaul* (Ms.) f. 46a, *Tarikh-i-Hasan* (Ms.), p. 293)

Azam, after committing the blunder that Zain-ul-Abiden had been taken as a captive by Timur to Samarqand whence he secured his release at the death of the Amir, states that the brothers fought somewhere on the road between Baramulla and Pakhli. (*Tarikh-i-Azam* (Ms.), p. 40.) The Kashmir Persian chroniclers have no independent existence, since the earliest of these works was composed in the reign of Jahangir. Secondly, we cannot accept 'Uri' to have been the battlefield in view of following facts: Yahiya Sirhindi, who is regarded an original authority for the history of the period 1400-25, states that the battle was fought at 'Thatha'. Badauni, following Sirhindi, reproduces this name; however, he helps us further to locate the place when he adds *darun-i-ghat-i-koh* (in the mountain-pass). If we accept 'Thatha' as the battlefield, then it means that the two brothers fought in Sind; for Thatha is situated 55 miles to the north of Karachi and three miles to the west of Sind, close to the vortex of the delta of Indus. (Thornton, *Gazetteer of Countries Adjacent to India*, II, p. 266; *Ain* (Jarrett), II, p. 336 et sqq). It is geographically unimaginable and politically unbelievable that Ali Shah, a coward, could have gone out so far as Sind and that Zain-ul-Abiden (Shahi Khan) could have reached there to fight against him. Besides 'Thatha' is situated in the plains of the Indus and not in a 'mountain-pass'. Therefore, Thatha of *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* and *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* is actually 'Thanna'. The two names when written in Persian characters are variants; and originally Thatha appears to have been a clerical error.

Thanna (Lat. 33° 33′, Long. 74° 25′) is situated on the bank of the Tohi river at a distance of 14 miles from Rajauri towards Kashmir. The road leading into Kashmir by way of Punch branches off about a mile to the north of Thanna. It is generally open all the year round. (Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 384; Drew, *op. cit.*, pp. 93, 156, 525.) While Mr. Hodivala admits that 'Thatha' is a clerical error, at the same time, quite ignorantly, he identifies it with 'Tibet', ignoring the fact that phonetically, topographically and historically the term 'Tibet' cannot be admitted. (Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, p. 403; Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, iv, p. 54; and Rose, *Ind. Anti.* xxxvi, 1907, p. 6, also makes this mistake.) Haig (*Camb. India*, III, p. 280 and *JRAS*, 1918, p. 456) has placed the site of battle in the neighbourhood of Tatakuti pass, situated at an elevation of 15,000 feet in the Pir Panjal chain of mountains. (Stein, *Anc. Geog.*, paras 14 and 15.) We might therefore safely conclude that 'Mudgaravyala' of Jonaraja appears to have been the ancient Sanskrit name of Thanna or the mountainous bulge enclosing this small valley.

state.[11] Ali Shah committed one tactical blunder after another. Stubborn and arrogant as he was, he refused to accept the precious advice[12] of his father-in-law, the Raja of Jammu, to remain inside the valley where he was safe and invulnerable. But he marched his troops across long, rough and rugged hills over the Pir Panjal chain and caused them intense fatigue and distress. Then he opened the offensive where he was unsafe. Immediately the daring and ruthless Khukhars fell on his troops and cut them down. Ali Shah was utterly defeated, made a prisoner, and then killed by Jasrath's men.[13]

II

SULTAN ZAIN-UL-ABIDEN

The battle of Thanna was decisive. It was a fitting finale to a brutal regime. It closed a dark chapter and opened a golden one. It was the turn of the tide. The sovereignty of Kashmir passed to Shahi Khan, who ascended the throne in May/June 1420, with the title of Zain-ul-Abiden.[14]

Zain-ul-Abiden was only 19. He was the second son of Sultan Sikandar from his junior queen, the daughter of the

Srivara and Yahiya Sirhindi agree about the date of this battle. Yahiya Sirhindi writes that the battle took place in the month of *Jamad-ul-Awwal* 823 A.H. (May-June 1420). (*Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, *op. cit.*). Srivara writes: 'The king (Zain-ul-Abiden) had obtained the kingdom in the month of *Jaistha* in the year (44)96. (Srivara (Dutt), p. 175.)

11. Jonaraja, p. 74

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75. Jonaraja gives an interesting description of the Raja of Jammu warning Ali Shah against the world-renowned artifices of the Khukhars

13. Srivara, p. 130. Haig helplessly states that the end of Ali Shah is 'uncertain'. (Haig, *JRAS*. 1918, p. 458)

14. We possess his copper and silver coins with the legend *'Al-Sultan-al-azam Zain-ul-Abiden'* and *'Fi Shahr-Sanah 842'* (A.H.). (*Rodgers*, *JASB*, 1885, p. 93 and Plate one.) The contemporary Sanskrit chroniclers (Jonaraja and Srivara) also call him 'Jaina' as well as 'Shri Jainollabhadina', which appears to have become the Sanskritised form of 'Zain-ul-Abiden', (Jonaraja, pp. 75-88, 97; Srivara, pp. 99, 175)

chief of Ohind.[15] The chief had offered her hand to Sikandar as a price of defeat.[16] She was accomplished, beautiful and a thorough believer in toleration, amity and justice. She stamped her son's impressionable mind with these human virtues. As a boy Zain-ul-Abiden had remained under the tutorship of Maulana Kabir, who was a profound scholar and a thorough believer in communal harmony and secular government. Finally his association with Kashmiri Sufis,[17] particularly Shaikh Nur-ud-din Rishi, exercised a profound influence upon his mind and thought. As a result of these influences, Zain-ul-Abiden, even as a boy, had revolted against the ruthless policy of the bigoted theologians during the reign of his father.[18] He had felt 'alarmed and anxious and did not sleep', 'when he found action and power centred in Suha Bhatta', the arch enemy of toleration, amity and tranquillity, in the reign of his brother Ali Shah, because 'he had great love of his subjects'.[19]

The atmosphere in which he found himself as king was almost suffocating. During the twenty-year ruthless regime of the Saiyids, the population of the country had decreased considerably as a result of self-inflicted banishment or suicide by Hindus. It had reduced the community to the traditionally remembered 'eleven'[20] families. The battle of Thanna too had drained away much of the wealth and manpower of the country. There was widespread discontent and

15. Jonaraja, p. 58. 'Udabhandapura' of Jonaraja has been known to Muhammadan chroniclers as 'Ohind', 'Waihind' or 'Und', lying between the ancient Siddapura (Indus region) and Gandhara (Kabul). (Stein's Note J, *Rajat*, II, pp. 336-39)

As regards the sultan's age, Srivara, his constant companion and chronicler, states that he died at the age of 69 in the *Laukika* 4546 (1470) having obtained the throne in *Laukika* 4496 (1420). Therefore, he ascended the throne at the age of 19. (Srivara, p. 175)

16. Jonaraja, p. 58

17. *Baharistan*, f. 56a; *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 34; *Tarikh-i-Narayan Kaul*, f. 48a

18. Jonaraja, p. 107

19. *Ibid.*, p. 69

20. Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 320; Haig, *Camb. India*, III, p. 280; Anand Kaul, *Kashmiri Pandit*, p. 47

disorder. Nevertheless, as king he determined to break away with the past and followed a policy which assured welfare of the state and happiness of his subjects.

The Khukhar and the Jammu Problems

Before Zain-ul-Abiden could apply himself to the task of rebuilding the state, he was called upon to tackle the Khukhar problem. He had gained the throne of Kashmir with the help of the Khukhars. Their chief, Jasrath, was the most beloved of all those who served him.[21] He had lived with them, fought with them and he knew them to be a brave and warlike people whose company he cherished. But their faults were greater. They behaved like a turbulent army of occupation and took delight in destruction and war.[22] Left without occupation such people were sure to prove a constant menace to public peace. Then he had to prepare for the bitter enmity of Raja Bhimdev of Jammu as a result of the defeat and death of his son-in-law, Ali Shah, at the hands of the Khukhars. Under these circumstances, Zain-ul-Abiden's primary concern was to look out for a scheme which would occupy the Khukhars elsewhere and prevent them from interfering with the internal administration of the state without losing their friendship.[23] Fortunately, he found Jasrath indulging in visions of conquering Delhi as a result of the death of Khizr Khan in 1421.

Timur had left Khizr Khan in charge of Multan. In course of time, he had become the Sultan of Delhi without a name. Zain-ul-Abiden availed himself of the trend of events. He supplied Jasrath with men and materials of war and drove him into the fray. And once Jasrath got confront-

21. Jonaraja, p. 76

22. *Ain* (Blockmann), p. 487

23. It appears that Khukhars had proved a dead-weight and a source of annoyance to any state to which they found access. There are extant Kashmiri proverbs such as, '*Log nam Ghakur*' and '*Khukhar chus log mut*', which are attributed to a person who sticks like a leech, *or* one who is a constant source of irritation like the Khukhars

ed with the Sultans of Delhi, Saiyid Mubarak Shah II (1421-33) and Saiyid Muhammad Shah IV (1433-43), he was trapped; he could not quit the Punjab.[24] At the same time, when Raja Bhimdev of Jammu came to the help of Sultan Saiyid Mubarak Shah against Jasrath to avenge the death of his son-in-law, he was also involved in the entanglement, and was killed in 1423[25] by Jasrath.

This was the first signal diplomatic triumph of Zain-ul-Abiden. By a single stroke of policy he saved Kashmir from the depredations of the Khukhars and the covetous eyes of Raja Bhimdev. After the death of Bhimdev, Jammu remained friendly to Kashmir. To cement the friendly relations Raja Maldev, the successor of Bhimdev, entered into a family compact with the Sultan of Kashmir. He married his daughter[26] to Zain-ul-Abiden.

But the death of Raja Bhimdev and involvement of Jasrath in the Delhi politics did not persuade Zain-ul-Abiden to break off his relations with Jasrath Khukhar. In the larger interests of diplomacy he continued to subsidise Jasrath with men and materials of war which enabled him to ravage the Punjab from Lahore to Rupar, and to seize the country, wholly or partly, whenever it slipped from the feeble hands of Saiyid Mubarak Shah.[27] During the last days of Mubarak Shah Jasrath concluded an alliance with Mir Shaikh Ali, governor of Kabul.[28]

Battles of Ladakh and Shel

The Khukhar-Kabul alliance proved of great advantage to Zain-ul-Abiden. He seized the opportunity to march

24. Yahiya Sirhindi, *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* (Bib. Ind.), pp. 194-99; Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* (Bib. Ind), I, pp. 289-90, 296, and 304; *Ind. Ant.*, xxxvi, 1907, pp. 6-8. As regards the notice that Jasrath utilised Kashmir materials in his attempt to seize the Delhi kingdom, see *Tabaqat*, III, p. 435; *Ain* (Jarrett), II, p. 388

25. *Ind. Ant.* xxxvi, 1907, p. 8

26. Jonaraja, p. 86

27. Vide note 24 *supra*

28. *JASB*, 1871, I, p. 82; Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* (Ranking), I, p. 390, note 4

against Western Tibet which he conquered.[29] As a matter of fact, the safety of the valley in the past had necessitated expeditions against turbulent neighbours in the north. At this time the Khan of Kashghar invaded Ladakh with a large army and offered a threat to Kashmir also. Sultan Zain-ul-Abiden marched against him with 25,000 horsemen. According to our chronicler,[30] he 'invaded Gogga-desa, saved the golden image of Buddha from the hands of the Yavanas in Saya-desa and took the town of Kulata'. The Persian chroniclers[31] of Kashmir supply a more detailed account of this campaign. We are told that the sultan sent his infantry and cavalry to invade Western Tibet. The campaign was conducted by five war-veterans of Kashmir, namely, Malik Muhammad Magre, Hilmat Raina, Ahmad Raina, Malik Masud Thakur and Saiyid Mirak Hasan Baihaqi. The army took the usual Sonemarg road over the Zojila pass and met the Kashgharis and defeated them in Ladakh. Subsequently, the combined troops of the Ladakhi and Balti chiefs were also confronted at the battlefield of Shel. They were utterly defeated, and accepted the paramountcy of the sultan of Kashmir.

Having freed the state from external danger, Zain-ul-Abiden occupied himself with its internal reconstruction. He entrusted the details of government to his younger brother Muhammad Khan, while he devoted himself to larger questions of policy in which he was supported by the sincere and devoted assistance of an efficient ministry which comprised the best talents in the state, namely, Darya Khan

29. Jonaraja, p. 84; Srivara, p. 103; *Ain* (Jarrett), II, p. 388; *Tabaqat*, III, p. 435; Firishta, II, p. 342

30. Jonaraja, p. 84; Srivara, p. 103 and (text), I, v, 51

This notice, apart from acquainting us with the lands that the Sultan of Kashmir conquered, also familiarises us perhaps for the first time, with the topography of Western Tibetan regions. For instance, 'Saya-desa' of Jonaraja has been identified with the village of Shel, pronounced 'She'. It is situated on the Indus above Leh, and has ever been famous for its large Buddhist images. 'Gogga-desa' has been identified with Guge, another village in the same region; and 'Kulata' is modern 'Kulu' in the Kangra district: Franke, *Ind. Ant.*, July 1908, pp. 188-89

31. *Baharistan*, ff. 50a-51a; *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 35

(Muslim), Tilakacharya (Buddhist) and Shriya Bhatta[32] (Brahman).

III

REHABILITATION OF THE HINDUS AND HINDU CULTURE

Political success often feeds egotism. In the case of Zain-ul-Abiden it never happened. He believed that a successful ruler is one who is anxious for the well-being of his subjects. And at every step he was guided by this principle. While he was occupied with overhauling the machinery of the state and formulating schemes for its rehabilitation, he developed a malignant boil on his forearm. His officers were unable to secure any efficient physician who could cure him on account of the persecution of the Hindus in the past. However, after ransacking the length and breadth of the country, a Brahman physician, named Shriya Bhatta[33], was persuaded to treat the sultan. His treatment proved successful. But he refused to accept any reward. He was selfless; his only anxiety was the future well-being of the Hindus. All he asked for was that the Hindus may be rehabilitated and the Brahmanical religion revived.

The king had already made up his mind to build his state on the solid and secure foundation of toleration and amity. The physician quickened his imagination. Forthwith he appointed him officer-in-charge for expansion of Brahmanical religion and rehabilitation of the Hindus.[34] Then he promulgated complete religious freedom in his dominion and sent out invitations to Kashmiri Hindus, who were living abroad, to return to their mother-country, promising

32. Jonaraja, pp. 76, 83

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 81-82. Jonaraja calls the physician Shiva Bhatta, whereas Nizam-ud-din and Firishta mention the name as Shriya Bhatta or 'Shribhatta': *Tabaqat*, III, p. 435; Firishta, II, 432; Anand Kaul, *op. cit.*, p. 47; Kak, *op. cit.*, p. 34

34. Jonaraja, p. 82-83. For the Sultan's monasteries, hermitages, religious foundations and endowments for Hindus, see, Srivara, pp. 139, 142; text (I), 402; *Baharistan*, f. 48b

them complete religious freedom, security of life and property and equality before law. The response was prompt, and Brahmans began to pour in from all sides. Unfortunately, however, their hardships and sufferings had not mellowed their narrow sectarian prejudices. They had not learned the advantages of unity and oneness. For example, henceforward, repatriated Brahmans and indigenous Brahmans distinguished themselves by separate appellations. The former called themselves *Banamasis* and the latter *Malamasis*.[35] Although the two terms did not carry distinction or disability, social or official, nevertheless, they carried germs of irremediable social taboos.

On his part, Zain-ul-Abiden rendered himself a remarkable and unique example among the galaxy of India's secular rulers when he persuaded all those 'new Muslims' who had embraced Islam recently under compulsion and naturally feigned acceptance of the faith, to renounce it and to return to their ancestral religion, without fear of any social, religious or political disability.[36] Soon he abolished the *jizya*[37] and the cremation tax[38] and banned cow-slaughter.[39] Then he revived Hindu pilgrimages and himself visited some

35. Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 302; Haig, *Camb. India*, III, p. 281; Anand Kaul, *op. cit.*, p. 47

The distinction of *Malamasis* and *Banamasis* clings to the Brahman community of Kashmir to this day. The distinction becomes marked after every 2½ years, on 13th dark fortnight of *Phagun* when two *Shivaratris* take place within one month. The *Mulamasis* observe the first and *Banamasis* the second. That year they have also two months of *Assuj* for performing the *shradhas*

36. *Tabaqat*, III, p. 437; Firishta, II, p. 343; *Tarikh-i-Hasan* (Ms.), II, p. 305; Haig, *Camb. India*, III, p. 281

37. Jonaraja (text), 1077 sq; *Ain* (Jarrett), II, p. 388; Firishta, p. 342. According to Jonaraja *jizya* was levied on Brahmans who refused to embrace Islam. It was two *palas* of silver a year. Zain-ul-Abiden first reduced it to one *masha*, and finally abolished it. It was reimposed by the Chaks when each male Brahman invested with the *yagnopavita* (holy Brahmanic thread) had to pay 40 *palas* annually. It was abolished by Akbar in 1587: Suka (text), 885 sqq

38. Srivara, p. 143

39. *Ain* (Jarrett), II, p. 388; Firishta, II, 342

Hindu shrines as a pilgrim,[40] and participated in Hindu feasts and festivals.[41] He repaired Hindu temples and himself built some new ones. To stimulate the study of Hindu religion and culture he took the lead himself. He spent his leisure in performing *havans*[42], in studying the *Nilamata-purana, Vasishta* and *Gita Govinda,* and in practising the *yoga.*[43]

40. Jonaraja (text), 1047 sqq, 1056 sqq, 1071 and 1233; Srivara (text), I, 474 sqq; Srivara (Dutt), pp. 146, 148

The Sultan visited Kramasaras (Kausar Nag) and Naubandana *tirath*, Sharada *tirath* and the Amarnatha *tirath*. (Stein, *Rajat*, II, p. 287, 389 and 409) and established a perpetual endowment at the shrine of Tripureshvara (modern Triphar) where beggars were fed. (Srivara (text), III, 207 and Stein's note, *Rajat*, III, 352.) As regards execution of repairs to temples, see Srivara (Dutt), p. 142; Jonaraja (Dutt), p. 88 and Lawrence, *op. cit.*, 192. The sultan also fed devotees for five days every year on the festivals of *Nagayatra* and *Gana Chakra*. (Srivara (Dutt), p. 123)

41. The sultan vigorously participated in the festival of flowers. This ancient festival was observed by Hindus of the valley in the month of *Chet* (March-April) and was, therefore, known as the *'Chaitra-festival'* (Srivara (Dutt), pp. 132-33). The springs of Kashmir assume a more picturesque appearance during the inflorescence of almond and jasmine blossoms than at any other time. Jahangir speaks of the beauty of the Kashmir springs in rapturous applause. (*Tuzuk* (R&B), II, p. 144-45). To commemorate their grand 'Chaitra festival' Kashmiri Hindus have retained on their calendar nine days of the month of *Chet* (March 23 to 31) when they perform *Durga Puja* and both Hindus and Muslims at this time of the year make merry in the gardens luxuriant with blossoms around the Hari Parbat hillock and in the Nishat and Shalamar. Zain-ul-Abiden participated in the 'display of lamps' also. This festival was held in honour of the birth of the *Vitasta* (Jehlam) which falls on 13th bright moon in the month of *Bhadra* (September-October). (Srivara (Dutt), p. 124). This festival is known as *'Vyath Truvah'*, and on this day, according to Srivara, lamps were displayed to the river by the citizens. (*Ibid*). This festival was also enjoyed in the days of Jahangir who gives a vivid description of it. (*Tuzuk* (R&B), II, pp. 167-68.) At present the festival is not celebrated with any fervour. It has become almost rare since 1947. Only aged conservative Brahmans maintain the tradition by lighting up earthen lamps and offering milk and sweet cakes to the river Jehlam at nightfall. The festival continues to occupy a place on their calendar as *'Vyath Truvah'* or *'Vitasta Triyodeshi'*. In the time of Sir Walter Lawrence (1885-1905) daughters used to be given presents on this day. (Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 266*n*)

42. Jonaraja, p. 91

43. *Ibid.*, Srivara, pp. 145, 147. The Sultan also practised *yoga,*

In order to associate the Hindus in the new social and administrative set-up, Zain-ul-Abiden founded schools where Persian, which had by this time become the court language, was taught.[44] The Kashmiri Brahmans soon adapted themselves to the study of Persian, but at the same time caused an everlasting split in the community. Those who learnt Persian and accepted government jobs, were designated *Karkuns*[45] whereas those who clung to the study of Sanskrit alone and occupied themselves with priestly functions, became known as *Bachi Bhattas*. Originally *Bachi Bhattas* were the daughter's sons of the *Karkuns*.[46] To perpetuate this distinction inter-marriage between them was interdicted. This is yet another example of narrow-mindedness and bigotry of Kashmiri Brahmans.

While the enlightened sultan enthusiastically en-

according to Jonaraja and Srivara. Jogi Lankar is reminiscent of his interest in *yoga* and patronage of *yogis*. It is a picturesque quarter overlooking the Mar canal in Rainawari, Srinagar. It was founded for *yogis*. They were looked after by the state. Abul Fazl states that the sultan was regarded by high and low as a special servant of God and was venerated as a saint. He was also credited with the power of divesting himself of his corporal form. (*Ain* (Jarrett), II, p. 388; *Tabaqat*, III, p. 441; *Tuzuk* (R&B), II, 94-95). Kashmir appears to have had no dearth of *yogis* as late as the reign of Shahjahan, when the author of the *Dabistan-i-Mazahib* met several of them (*Dabistan* (Shea and Troyer), II, pp. 147-65). We have curious stories of the sultan's mastery of *yoga* and that once he had almost died but was revived by a *yogi* who put his own soul into his body. (*Tabaqat*, III, p. 441; Firishta, II, p. 345; *Tarikh-i-Birbal Kachru* (Ms.), p. 75; Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 192)

44. Srivara, p. 146; Lawrence, *Ibid.*, pp. 192 and 302; Anand Kaul, *op. cit.*, p. 47

45-46. *Karkun* is a Persian term which was current in the revenue administration of the Delhi sultans. (Zia Barani, *Tarikh-i-Feroz Shahi* (text), p. 430; Ishwari Prasad, *Qaraunah Turks*, pp. 50-51 and 70)

In Kashmir the '*Karkuns*' were Brahmans. From Hindu times government clerks and revenue collectors were Kayasthas. They were called *Karkuns* in the reign of Zain-ul-Abiden and since then continued to be known by this appellation. But while in India the Kayasthas developed into a separate caste, in Kashmir *Karkuns*, who were the survivors of the Kayasthas remained part and parcel of the Brahman community, with this difference that *Bachi Bhattas* and *Karkuns* did not interdine nor intermarry. As a matter of fact, interdining has been adopted only after 1948

couraged all attempts at the revival of Hindu culture and Hindu traditions, unfortunately, he allowed the cruel and obnoxious rite of the *sati*[47] to continue. He daily fed fishes in some springs and at the *prayagas,* and forbade catching of birds and fishes in certain lakes and springs.[48] On the whole, to quote Jonaraja, the contemporary chronicler, 'he possessed courage and a will to perform what was beyond the power of the past kings, and what may be beyond the ability of future rulers'.[49]

IV

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

After religious reform the sultan turned his attention to the reform of the judiciary. Law courts had of late become hotbeds of corruption. Judges openly accepted bribes from plaintiffs as well as defendants.[50] The litigants practised forgery[51] and theft; highway robbery, drunkenness and debauchery were very common among all classes of people including the Saiyids.[52] Justice was doled out haphazardly. It was one-sided and discriminatory. Punishments were unduly harsh and cruel. Trivial offences were punished with death by sword or fire.[53] Once a person was thrown into prison he was doomed for ever; rarely he came out alive.

Such a state of affairs was unjust and cruel in the eyes of Zain-ul-Abiden. He loved and practised even-handed

47. Srivara, p. 143; *Tabaqat*, III, p. 436; Firishta II, p. 342; Haig, *Camb. India*, III, p. 281. It appears that the Brahmans of Kashmir were not in favour of the abolition of the *sati* for Srivara writes: 'Here according to the custom of distant countries, females immolated themselves on the pyre of their beloveds and were not forbidden by the king'. (Srivara, *ibid.*)

48. Srivara, pp. 95 and 139

49. Jonaraja, p. 90

50. *Ibid.*, p. 80

51. *Ibid.*, p. 81

52. This is manifest from the cases cited by Jonaraja and also from the character of prince Adam Khan and prince Haji Khan. (Jonaraja, p. 81)

53. In the reigns of Sikandar and Ali Shah there were lots of cases of burning

justice and did not forgive even his son, minister, or friend if they were guilty.[45] His judicial advisers comprised men of admitted integrity and ability.[55] As the final court of appeal, he heard cases and gave decisions with the advice of qazis and pundits.[56] He administered punishments and rewards with due regard to the merits of each case and took the same care for his subjects' welfare as a husbandman takes for his crops.[57] To keep a watch over the actions of his officers and his subjects, he established the department of intelligence.[58] Thus he was able to purge corruption and bribery. No more judicial procedures or revenue rulings were conducted orally. All judicial and revenue transactions were recorded on *Bhoj Patra* and those of permanent value were inscribed on copper plates and promulgated through the length and breadth of the country.[59] The following are some of the cases[60] which illustrate his utter impartiality, profound common sense, and extraordinary judicial acumen.

A certain Brahman Lalaraja had sold one plot out of his ten plots of land. The sale deed had been recorded and signed. But he died in the very year of the transaction, after having informed his son Nonaraja about it. But the son was young, weak and poor. The buyer was resourceful and influential. He seized the other nine plots also and forged an entry to this effect in the document. The case was brought before the sultan. Apparently the transaction was unassailable. But the sultan sent for the document which he put in the water. The process erased the interpolation. The forger was severely punished. The story of the king's justice spread far and wide.[61]

54. Jonaraja, p. 80
55. *Ibid.*, pp. 95, 97
56. *Ibid.*, p. 93
57. *Ibid.*; Kak, *op. cit.*, p. 35
58. Srivara, p. 101
59. Jonaraja, pp. 88, 89; Srivara, p. 156, *Tabaqat*, III, p. 436; Firishta, p. 342; Rodgers, *JASB*, 1885, p. 103; Haig, *Camb. India*, III, p. 282
60. Jonaraja, pp. 79, 80, 85, 86, 89, 90
61. *Ibid.*, p. 81

To illustrate his impartiality, stern justice and belief in deterrent punishment, we have the case of a judge who was found guilty of bribery. He was made to return the amount to the party concerned. Then he was dismissed.[62] The second case is of one Saiyid Mir Shah, who had killed his wife in a state of drunkenness. He was executed though he was a Saiyid, and a favourite of the sultan.[63] The third case is of Saiyid Sadullah. He was a holy man from Mecca. Once he found a Hindu sadhu being kindly treated by the sultan. He became jealous and murdered the sadhu under the impression that as a holy man from Mecca his crime would be condoned. The sultan consulted maulavis and pundits. They pronounced that the culprit should be killed. But the sultan ordered that the Saiyid should be seated on a donkey facing its tail. His beard should be soaked in dirt and his head shaved off. In such a disgraceful condition he was paraded through the city with his hands tied. The onlookers spat at him.[64]

Zain-ul-Abiden never put any one of his subjects to death for theft or petty crime.[65] He appears to have been a criminologist. He believed that poor and low-caste people generally take to pilfering and commit offences, small or big, compelled by poverty, want and ignorance. Therefore, he made provisions for honest and productive means of livelihood. He directed criminal tribes to healthy pursuits.[66] He appears to have anticipated the criminal reform movement of the nineteenth century when he employed gangs of criminals as labourers on public works and in the state workshops and industries.[67] He gave them a better standard of life and wages, and emphasised the dignity

62. *Ibid.*, p. 96

63. *Ibid.*, p. 80

64. *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86. The punishment of parading a criminal through the city seated on a donkey with his face darkened and turned towards the animal's tail is known as *tashkir-kardan*, under Muslim law. In Kashmir it was a familiar type of punishment

65. *Tabaqat*, III, p. 438

66. Srivara, pp. 101-02

67. *Ibid.*, p. 101; *Ain* (Jarrett), II, p. 388; *Tabaqat*, III, p. 438

of labour. The world-famous Kashmiri arts and crafts were first learnt and perfected in these reformatories.[68] Then he reduced to the minimum cases of highway robbery and murder by holding the entire village or town where a crime occurred responsible for it. This sort of collective responsibility guaranteed security of life and property, so much so that 'travellers slept at ease in woods as in a house.'[69]

The notorious and marauding Chaks had spread terror in the northern districts of the valley. They were removed lock, stock and barrel, and settled in the thinly populated villages far away from their homes. Here they were given ample lands to cultivate. Strict supervision was also placed on their movements; and they were converted into law-abiding citizens. The sultan was ruthless to those who broke law or practised bigotry.[70]

V

REVENUE ADMINISTRATION

In 1420, the condition of the population as a whole, and peasantry in particular, was deplorable. Owing to the reign of terror during the preceding twenty years, the population had enormously declined with the result that large tracts of land had fallen out of cultivation. Those who still tilled the land were groaning under official oppression.[71] There were then no records to indicate a cultivator's holdings[72] and the share of the state. The amount of a holding, moreover, was not ascertained by actual measurement but by the

68. Kak, *op. cit.*, p. 35
69. Srivara, p. 102; *Tabaqat*, III, p. 436; Firishta, II, p. 342
70. Srivara, *Ibid.*; *Baharistan*, ff. 57a, 57b; Lawrence, op. cit., p. 192
71. *Ain* (Jarrett), II, p. 366 sqq; Stein's note, *Rajat*, V, 171; Lawrence, *op. cit.*, pp. 409 sqq. There existed an elaborate system of taxation which oppressed the people with its manifold imposts on all products and industries, which the state monopolised and also demanded forced labour (*begar*)
72. *Rajat*, V, 71; *Ain* (Jarret), II, p. 366; Moorcroft, *Travels*, II, p. 135; Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 243

quantity of seeds it required.[73] On top of all forgery, peculation and oppression were rife.

Zain-ul-Abiden resolved the confusion. He divided the country into parganas.[74] Each pargana comprised a number of villages. The villages were divided into holdings and each holding was measured by the *jarib*, which he introduced.[75] A record of all holdings showing the classification and ownership of each was also maintained. These records were written on *bhoj patra* but important ones were inscribed on copper plates. They were preserved in the Central Record Office which was established at Sopur.[76] The state demand on land was fixed at one-sixth of the produce. But in the newly reclaimed pargana of Zainagir,[77] it was fixed at one-seventh.[78] The decision was engraved on a copper plate for the guidance of future rulers.[79]

The revenue was realised in kind.[80] All officials, particularly those dealing with the assessment of land and col-

73. Jonaraja, pp. 80, 81, 88. The realisation of land revenue in kind offered great opportunities for peculation. (Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 400 sqq). One of the chief abuses connected with this system was manipulation of the scales. Even at present it is being practised by the officials of the State Food Control Department, at the time of taking delivery of the *Mujawaza* (quota) of *shali* from the villagers

74. Parganas, or small territorial divisions, continued in existence from ancient times. What the sultan did was to redistribute them adding new ones which had grown up during the Muhammadan rule and eliminating those which had become non-existent owing to floods, etc. (*Rajat* (Stein), II, pp. 493-94; see Stein's note on Kashmir parganas, especially nos. 1, 7, 8, 9, 15, 16, 23 and 24, 26 and 40 which the sultan had added)

75. *Ain, op. cit.*, p. 388; *Tabaqat*, III, p. 436; Firishta, II, p. 343; *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, (Ms), II, p. 292

76. Jonaraja, p. 88; Srivara, pp. 155-56

77. The pargana of Zainagir comprising the fertile *karewa* tract in Kamraz is situated between the Wular lake and left bank of the Pohru river. (Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 406; Drew, *op. cit.*, p. 170, Stein. *Anc. Geog.* para 128; Jonaraja (text), 1449-56; Srivara (text), I, 562 sq. and III, 56 and 78)

78. Srivara (Dutt), p. 156

79. *Ibid*

80. *Rajat* (Stein), II, p. 327; *Ain, op. cit.*, p. 366 sq.; Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 409 sqq. and p. 243

lection of revenue, were ordered to be honest and lenient in their dealings with the peasantry,[81] because the sultan was particularly interested in their welfare. An occasion to prove his great interest in public welfare came in 1460, when the country generally suffered from the havoc of famine.[82] The agriculturists were given relief in cash and kind; in the most affected areas land revenue was reduced to one-seventh, and in the less affected areas to one-fourth.[83] Then all types of credits, which had been advanced by rich bankers to the poor during the famine, were declared null and void.[84] Evidently he appears to have introduced a sort of social obligation which compelled the rich to share their wealth with the poor in times of difficulty and distress. Perhaps such a piece of social legislation is a rare example in India in the fifteenth century.

Irrigation Canals

Rice is the staple food in Kashmir. On it has depended from time immemorial the prosperity of the state and welfare of the people. For its cultivation irrigation is indispensable. The importance of irrigation from the revenue point of view was always recognised by the kings of Kashmir. Whenever they found themselves free from internal troubles they repaired ancient canals or dug out new ones.[85] Zain-ul-Abiden's reign was productive of a network of new and important canals which irrigated even arid regions. The result was abundance of rice and enormous increase in national wealth.[86]

Kashmir valley abounds in large tracts of arid plateaus.

81. *Tabaqat*, III, p. 436; Firishta, p. 342

82. Srivara says that the famine occurred in the month of *Maghar* in *Laukika* 4536 (1460) owing to untimely fall of snow. (Srivara, p. 116)

83. *Tabaqat*, III, p. 443; Firishta, p. 346; Rodgers, *JASB*, 1885, p. 106; Haig, *Camb. India*, III, p. 283

84. Srivara, p. 119

85. *Rajat*, I, 156 sqq, IV, 191; V, 109-12

86. Jonaraja, pp. 86-87; Srivara, pp. 138-40; *Tabaqat*, III, p. 435; *Baharistan*, f. 51b

Locally they are called *wudars* and *karewas*[87] in Persian. These barren wastelands lie isolated, either in the middle of the valley or in the foothills rising 100 to 300 feet above the level of the intervening valleys or ravines. Most of them are situated to the southwest of the valley stretching from Shupian to Baramulla. But some lie to the northeast also. Their productivity depends entirely upon seasonal rains which are uncertain. Nevertheless, some of them have been sites of historical importance,[88] for example, the *karewas* of Matan, Chakdar, Pampur and Paraspor.[89] Zain-ul-Abiden interspersed them with a network of canals. These canals were branched from rivers which were fed by glaciers of perpetual snow. Chief among these canals were:

(1) *The Kakapur Canal:*[90] It irrigated the plateau around the village of Kakapur.

(2) *The Tsakdar Canal:*[91] It was brought from Nandmarg and irrigated the plateau of Tsakdar.

(3) *The Karala Canal:*[92] It irrigated the south-western tableland situated between Shupian and Ramu, known by the ancient name of Adavin. Here the sultan built a new town which was named Zainpur.

((4) *The Avantipur Canal:*[93] It irrigated the Avantipur plateau. A portion of this canal, running as far as the villages of Midpur and Rajpur, is extant to this day.

87. For *karewas* and their geological formation and soil, etc., see Drew, *op. cit.*, pp. 167-69; Lawrence, *op. cit.*, pp. 17, 45-50, 320; Stein, *Anc. Geog.*, para 76

88. Stein, *Ibid*

89. For Matan, see *Rajat*, (Stein), II, p. 466; for Chakdar, see *Ibid.*, p. 461; for Pampur, *Ibid.*, pp. 428 and 459, and for Paraspor, *Ibid.*, p. 477

90. Jonaraja, p. 88. Kakapur is the ancient Utalapapura (Stein, *Anc. Geog.*, para 118)

91. Jonaraja, *Ibid.*, p. 89; Stein, *Ibid.*, para 107. Nandmarg (Lat. 33° 23′, Long. 75° 24′) is a pass in the Pir Panjal Range situated to the north-east of Kotli. (Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 287)

92. Jonaraja, p. 89. For ancient name 'Adavin', See Stein, *Rajat*, I, 97n

93. Jonaraja, *Ibid.*; Kak, *op. cit.*, p. 37

(5) *The Shahkhul or Safapur Canal:*[94] It carried the waters of the Sindh river across Lar to the plateau around the Mansabal lake. Here the sultan restored the ancient town of Indarkot and built at Safapur[95] a palace which he named 'Bagh-i-Safa'.

(6) *The Lacham Kul or Zainaganga:*[96] This canal also branched off from the Sindh river. It carried waters to Nowshahr (Zain-Nagar),[97] the capital town founded by the sultan. The canal was extended to Jama Masjid, which it supplied with water. It emptied itself in the Mar canal at Kadi Kadal in Srinagar. The canal has fallen out of use for more than 60 years.

(7) *The Lall Kul or the Pohru Canal:*[98] It carried the water from the Pohru river from Bunagam (Pohru) where the river was dammed up, and irrigated arid lands lying between the Wular lake and the left bank of the Pohru river. Here the sultan founded the new town of Zainagir, which soon developed into a flourishing pargana. The canal

94. Jonaraja, *Ibid.;* Srivara (text), I, 250; Kak, *Ibid.;* Stein, *Anc. Geog.*, para 122

95. Jonaraja, p. 87. For Safapur or Bagh-i-Safa, see *Akbarnama* (Beveridge), III, p. 845; *Tuzuk* (R&B), II, p. 176; *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), p. 490n

Srivara states that Sultan Zain-ul-Abiden built (in 1462) on the elevated slopes of the hill-town near Jayapidapura (Indarkot) the town Jainatilaka; and the houses in the town were whitewashed with lime. It was here that the sultan performed the coronation of Jayasimha, the feudatory Raja of Rajauri, on his birthday. (Srivara, pp. 122-23). The houses were whitewashed with gypsum which is available in abundance in the nearby lime mountain of Ahathung. (Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 63). It tempts us to suggest that the name 'Safapur', in all probability, seems to have originated from the Kashmiri word 'seef' (gypsum)

96. Jonaraja (text), 872; Jonaraja, (Dutt), p. 87; *Rajat* (Stein), I, p. 112n; Moorcroft, *op. cit.*, II, p. 117

97. The capital city of Zain-ul-Abiden extended between Sowra and Hari Parbat. (Stein's note, *Rajat*, III, 453-54)

98. Jonaraja (text), 1449-56; Srivara (text), I, 562, III, 59, 78; Srivara (Dutt), p. 156; *Baharistan*, f. 51b; Moorcroft, *op. cit.*, II, p. 231; *Tarikh-i-Hasan* (ms), II, p. 300; Stein. *Anc. Geog.*, para 128.

was constructed in 1459.[99]

(8) *The Shah Kul or the Martand Canal*[100]: The canal diverted the Lidar river to Matan in order to irrigate the arid plateau there. Dr. Stein[101] rightly observes that some work of this kind must have already existed in this plateau in ancient times, otherwise it is difficult to understand how this naturally arid tract could have been chosen by the great king Lalitaditya as the site for his magnificent temples and the flourishing township which once surrounded it. It is quite imaginable that in ancient times there should have been some arrangement for the water of the Lidar river being carried to this canal which fell out of use later on. The sultan also attempted to grow sugarcane[102] here. But it did not prove a successful undertaking owing to climatic conditions. The Shah Kul canal originally dug out in his time continues to be of immense value for purposes of irrigation in the Anantnag district.

(9) *The Mar Canal*:[103] Ever since it has proved of immense advantage and convenience for internal traffic between the Srinagar city and the villages near the Dull lake. This inland waterway facilitates communication with the lake particularly for transport of the manifold products of the lake. Previousy surplus waters of the lake flowed into the Jehlam at the Habba Kadal[104] bridge. The sultan's engineers closed up this junction and instead forced the passage of the lake waters into the Mar Canal which was extended up to Shadipur where it emptied itself at the confluence of the Jehlam and the Sindh.[105] By so doing yet another large tract of land was brought under productive

99. The date when the canal was laid out is obtained from the chronogram *Joi Khurram*. (*Baharistan*, f. 55b; *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, II, p. 300)

100. Jonaraja (text), 1245 sq. and 1310; Kak, *op. cit.*, p. 37

101. Stein, *Anc. Geog.*, paras 78 and 111

102. Jonaraja (Dutt), p. 97

103. Srivara (Dutt), p. 143; Srivara (text), I, 442 and IV, 298; Moorcroft, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 116-17; Stein, *Anc. Geog.*, para 65

104. Srivara, *Ibid.*; *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, (MS), II, p. 301; Lawrence *op. cit.*, p. 191

105. Srivara, *Ibid.*; *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, *Ibid*

cultivation. The canal was also spanned with seven masonry bridges.[106]

VI

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Cash transactions were generally non-existent in Kashmir as late as 1900. Salaries were paid in *shali,* maize and singhara nut, etc. The medium of barter, to a large extent, was *shali,* the staple food in the country. Silver, copper and 'cowries' played a very small part in business transactions. Prices of commodities were generally fluctuating and arbitrary and profiteering was a common feature of the economic life of the people. The middlemen and zamindars controlled the market and fixed the prices arbitrarily, especially during the famines.[107]

To end these abuses, Zain-ul-Abiden introduced a system of price control by which prices of articles were regulated by government. The government issued notifications in the form of bulletins. These bulletins were inscribed on copper plates. From time to time they indicated variations in prices. They were fixed at all important centres and in all towns.[108] By this method he saved his subjects from the rapacity of fraudulent dealers. Then he appealed to his successors to maintain the practice.[109]

Secondly, the currency of the country had been greatly debased during the preceding twenty years on account of the indiscriminate conversion of the metal of certain Hindu idols into coins. The sultan issued fresh coins of copper and silver of fine stuff. They were extensively minted[110] at

106. The embankments of the canal were raised with stones which were carried from the demolished temples. But aged boatmen also state that the bed of canal is laid with pacca bricks and tiles which appears probable since the bridges spanning the canal are still a fine example of masonry

107. Srivara (Dutt), pp. 118-19

108. *Tabaqat,* III, p. 437; Firishta, II, p. 343

109. Srivara, p. 156

110. *Tabaqat,* III, p. 437; Firishta, II, p. 343; Rodgers, *JASB,* 1885,

the royal mint at Saraf Kadal.[111] It was known as Tanki Sarai. The place was also the business centre of exchangers, moneylenders and the sundry. This distinction the place retains to an appreciable degree to this day.

Thirdly, business in Kashmir was generally conducted privately and every businessman's home or manufactory was also his sales depot.[112] It encouraged cheating and black-marketing. To prevent fraud and to establish fair business relations between the buyer and the seller, it was ordered that all business should be conducted in open market and that businessmen should expose their goods and sell them at fair and reasonable prices.

Salt[113]

Salt has always been an expensive article of necessity in Kashmir since it is not locally available. It was imported from Bhimbar, Punch and West Punjab, and during unsettled political conditions in the Punjab, from Ladakh, Tibet and China. Kashmiri traders also went as far as Bengal to buy salt. Its scarcity and dearness caused acute economic problems. Srivara says that in the reign of Muhammad Shah, in 1485, when the passes to the south were closed owing to political troubles, the price of salt in the capital shot very high.[114] To ensure a regular and cheap supply of salt from the Punjab, Zain-ul-Abiden established a colony of professional carriers at Tirapur.[115] He gave them all sorts of facilities. They brought the Punjab rock-salt to Kashmir

p. 103; also 'Copper Coins of the Sultans of Kashmir', *JASB*, 1879 (No. 4), p. 282; Rodgers, 'Silver Coins of the Sultan of Kashmir', *JASB*, 1885, p. 96; Haig, *Camb. India*, III, p. 282

111. The royal mint was located at Tanki-Sarai at Saraf Kadal, Srinagar. Even at present Saraf Kadal continues to be a business market

112. Even now leading shawl, carpet, silverware, wood-carving shops are located in the manufactories of their respective dealers

113. Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 393

114. Srivara (text), IV, 534; Srivara (Dutt), p. 327

115. Srivara (text), I, 408; Stein, *Anc. Geog.*, para 44

regularly. They could be the precursors of the *Banjaras* of later times.

VII

ERA OF PEACE AND PROSPERITY

Foundations

We have ample proof of the internal recovery of the country and material advantages enjoyed by the people during Zain-ul-Abiden's strong, peaceful and prosperous reign in the large number of buildings, palaces and towns with which he embellished the country associating his name with each[116] one of them. He founded the towns of Zainanagar[117] (Nowshahr), Zainagir,[118] Zainapur[119] and Zainakot,[120] and restored the ruined city of Indarkot.[121] He created endowments in some towns. The most important of these endowments was at Hirapur.[122] He erected the *khanqah* of Saiyid Muhammad Madani,[123] and laid out the charming islands of Sona-Lank and Rupa-Lank[124] in the

116. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), p. 434

117. Jonaraja, (Dutt), p. 87. 'Nowshahra' the Kashmiri name by which the locality is known to the Muslims of the city and 'Vicharnag' by which name it is called by the Hindus was familiar as 'Zaina Nagar' in the time of the sultan. (Jonaraja, *Ibid.*) It was also known as 'Rajdan' or 'Rajdhani', the capital city, in the time of Mirza Haidar Dughlat. (*Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), p, 429)

118. Jonaraja (text), 1449-56; Srivara (Dutt), p. 156

119. It is an alluvial pargana in the Shupian Tehsil in the Maraz division of Kashmir. Before Zain-ul-Abiden it was known as Adavin and 'Supersaman'. (Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 407; Stein's note, *Rajat*, I, 97)

120. Jonaraja (text) 1248; Jonaraja (Dutt), p. 94. It is situated (Lat. 34° 6'; Long. 74° 46') at the foot of the Khushpur *Wudar* in the neighbourhood of the marshy ground about four miles to the west of Srinagar, near the road towards Patan. (Bates, *Ibid.*, p. 406; Stein, *Anc. Geog.*, para 120)

121. Jonaraja (Dutt), p. 89; Stein, *Anc. Geog.*, para 122

122. Srivara (text), I, 408; Stein, *Rajat*, I, 347n

123. *Baharistan*, f. 56a; also Chapter V, Sec. iii, note 21

124. Srivara (Dutt), pp. 141-42; *Baharistan*, f. 53; Moorcroft, *op. cit.*, ii, pp. 137-39; Stein, *Anc. Geog.*, para 66

Dull lake. The floating[125] islands of the Dull lake were rendered suitable for agricultural produce. His reputation as a magnificent builder and a great patron of indigenous art and architecture[126] rests upon Zain-Lank,[127]

125. For floating gardens, their lay-out, etc., see Lawrence, *op. cit.*, pp. 344-45 and Srivara, *Ibid.*; *Baharistan, Ibid*

'Floating gardens (Kashmiri *radh*) are made of long strips of the lake reed, with a breadth of about 6 feet. These strips can be towed from place to place and are moored at the four corners by poles driven into the lake bed. When the *radh* is sufficiently strong to bear the weight of a man heaps of weed and mud are extracted from the lake by poles, and these heaps are formed into cones and placed at intervals on the *radh*.' Each cone can accommodate two seedlings of melons or tomatoes, or four seedlings of water melons or cucumbers. There is rich soil, ample moisture, and the summer sun of Kashmir which help to produce vegetables in abundance and of excellent quality.

126. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), p. 434; Kak, *op. cit.*, p. 38

127. Jonaraja calls it *Zaina-Lanka.* (Jonaraja, pp. 93-94). The sultan built this island in the Wular lake. Originally it was built in the middle of the lake where water was deep. Now it stands in a shallow marsh close to the mouth of the Jehlam river due to the silting-up process which has since been going on in the lake. (Drew, *op. cit.*, p. 166; Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 20.) Mirza Haidar Dughlat gives a description of its lay-out. (*Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), pp. 428-29.) According to him the island was 200 square *gaz* and ten *gaz* in height. Jahangir found it 100 *gaz* by 100 *gaz* (*Tuzuk* (R&B), I, p. 94). According to Major Bates, the island (Lat. 34° 22′, Long. 74° 40′, Elev. 5,187 feet) measured 95 yards by 75 yards. (Bates, *op. cit.*, pp. 254-55.) Jonaraja states that wagons filled with stones were carried to the site and with these stones the centre of the lake was filled. (Jonaraja, p. 94). The date when the island was built can be obtained from the chronogram *khurrambad,* occurring in the following verse which was inscribed on a stone slab on the island:

'Yin buqqa' chu buniyani falk mahkam bad
Mahshoortarin Zeb dar alam bad.
Shahi Zain Abad ta dar U Jashn kunad
Paiwasta chu tarikhi Khudash Khurrambad.'

Translation:

May this edifice lie as firm as the foundations of the heavens! May it be the most renowned ornament of the universe! As long as the monarch Zain-Abad (Zain-ul-Abiden) holds therein a *'Jashn'*, may it be like the date of his own reign 'Happy'!

The phrase *Khurrambad* serves as *memoria technica* of the date when the island was constructed which is 847 of the *Hijri* (1443-44). It marks the year when Zain-ul-Abiden was at the summit of his glory and power.

Zaina-Kadal,[128] and Zaina-Dab.[129] Though Zaina-Dab has since disappeared, the other foundations testify that the reign of Zain-ul-Abiden was the golden period of Kashmir history.

Arts and Crafts

Sultan Zain-ul-Abiden extended munificent patronage to foreign arts and crafts. His justice and munificence and the peace and tranquillity that prevailed in the country attracted some master artisans from Samarqand, Bukhara and Persia. He provided them all amenities of life and they popularised their arts and crafts among the Kashmiris.[130] Stone-polishing, stone-cutting, glass-blowing, window-cutting, wood-carving, paper-making, gold and silver leaf-making, book-binding, papier-mache, and silk, shawl and carpet-weaving, whose beauty and excellence have rendered

Major Bates wrongly states that the island was constructed in 1411. (Bates, *Ibid.*, p. 255). Our last authority who in 1880 saw the slab with the inscription on the island is Col. Jarrett. For further study of the subject see Jonaraja (Dutt), pp. 93-94; *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), pp. 428-29; Firishta, II, p. 243 (Firishta wrongly places it in 'Verang'); *Tuzuk* (R&B), I, p. 94; *Baharistan*, ff. 53-55; *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik* (Ms), p. 32; Bernier, *Travels*, pp. 416-17, note 2; *Tarikh-i-Narayan Kaul* (Ms), f. 47b; Moorcroft, *op. cit.*, II, p. 54, 55

128. Srivara (Dutt), p. 127; Stein. *Anc. Geog.*, para 98. The bridge was the first permanent bridge of wood and stone built in Kashmir by this sultan. It was built across the Jehlam in the heart of Srinagar. As regards its architecture, see Vigne, *op. cit.*, p. 237; Moorcroft, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 121-23 and Lawrence, *Ibid.*, p. 37. The Jehlam in the Srinagar city is spanned by nine bridges but none of these bridges was constructed before the reign of Zain-ul-Abiden. The Hindu engineers were more proficient in stone architecture which did not permit of the construction of bridges with sufficient span. This deficiency was filled by their Muhammadan successors who worked chiefly in wood. (Stein, *Ibid.*)

129. It was also called 'Rajdan'. (*Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), p. 249). Mirza Haidar's estimation of the beauty and excellence of this structure was very high. Though this edifice of 12 storeys, each containing 50 rooms, was destroyed after Mirza Haidar saw it in 1553, the songs which commemorate its grandeur are extant. They are usually sung by Kashmiri damsels while dancing, especially during the month of *Ramazan* and at other national festivals

130. Srivara (Dutt), p. 151; Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 192

Kashmir famous[131] in the world of arts, were introduced and developed under his fostering care.[132] The popularity and excellence of these arts and crafts was a subject of great wonder to Mirza Haidar Dughlat, who came to Kashmir 75 years after Zain-ul-Abiden. To quote Mirza Haider,[133] 'In Kashmir one meets with all those arts and crafts which are, in most cities, uncommon... In the whole of Mavara-u-Nahr except Samarqand and Bukhara, these are nowhere to be met with, while in Kashmir they are abundant. This is all due to Sultan Zain-ul-Abiden.'

131. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), p. 434

132. Among our available authorities, Muhammad Azam and Birbal Kachru alone state that Zain-ul-Abiden, as prince, was imprisoned by Timur when he presented himself before him on behalf of his father Sultan Sikandar, accompanying the Kashmir presents. Timur sent him to Samarqand where he saw the excellent arts and crafts of Samarqand, Bukhara and Persia, and introduced them in Kashmir when he became the sultan.

Muhammad Azam wrote his *tarikh* in the eighteenth century and Birbal Kachru wrote his in the nineteenth. Azam wrongly quotes *Zafarnama* as his authority because Sharaf-ud-din nowhere mentions this circumstance in the *Zafarnama*.

Col. H. S. Jarrett has made the same mistake (JASB, 1880(1) p. 19). Dr. G. M. D. Sufi has by-passed both chronology and history. While describing the reign of Sultan Zain-ul-Abiden he writes: 'In most of his enterprises the sultan was guided by his experience gained at Samarqand during his eight years' stay there.' (Sufi, *Islamic Culture in Kashmir*, p. 181)

That the statement regarding imprisonment or residence of Zain-ul-Abiden as Prince Shahi Khan at Samarqand under orders of Timur is entirely irresponsible, conjectural and fictitious, is borne out by the following facts:

Zain-ul-Abiden died in 1470 at the age of 69. (Srivara (Dutt), p. 175; *Baharistan*, f. 58a; Firishta, II, p. 347; Haig, *JASB*, 1918, p. 456). Timur left India in 1398-99, when obviously Zain-ul-Abiden (Shahi Khan) was not born. To all intents and purposes Zain-ul-Abiden appears to have been acquainted with the arts and crafts of Samarqand, Bukhara and Persia by the Muslim emigres who had run away from these countries and settled in Kashmir; perhaps also by Jasrath his best friend and guide who was familiar with these arts and crafts having lived in these regions as a captive of Timur.

133. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), p. 434. About the international fame of Kashmir shawls and woollens, see *Ain* (Jarrett), II, p. 355; *Tuzuk* (R&B), II, p. 147; *Baharistan*, f. 47a

Zain-ul-Abiden also introduced, in 1465, the art of manufacturing gun-powder and fire-works. For this purpose, he had employed one Habiba,[134] who was a noted pyrotechnist.

Sufis, Savants and Musicians

The sultan was also a great patron of letters. His court was thronged by saints, scholars, poets and musicians. The salubrious climate of Kashmir coupled with her economic prosperity and political security during this period rendered her a centre of attraction. Shaikh Nur-ud-din-Rishi,[135] Shaikh Baha-ud-din Ganj Bakhsh,[136] and Saiyid Muhammad Madani[137] were amongst the great saints of the time. Chief among the poets and *literati* were Maulana Kabir,[138] Qazi Jamal-ud-din,[139] Mulla Ahmad Kashmiri,[140] Pandit

134. Srivara (Dutt), p. 135; Firishta, II, p. 344; *Tabaqat*, III, 439; Haig, *Camb. India*, III, p. 282

135. See Chap. IV, Sec. VI, note 84

136. Shaikh Baha-ud-din Ganj Bakhsh came to Kashmir from Khutillan (Persia). He had extensively travelled and profited in the company of Kashmiri saints and sufis. In his abstemious habits, he was like Shaikh Nur-ud-din. It is said that he collected grains scattered on the ground and lived on them, but never accepted any favour from the sultan who as well as the queen were among his devoted disciples. In 1449 (849 A.H.) he was killed by a band of dacoits who mistook him for a man of substance. He was buried in the extensive graveyard outside the Bachi-Darwaza of the Hari Parbat wall which is still remembered after him as 'Mazar-i-Baha-ud-din Sahib'. It is said that this *mazar* was erected by the queen with the sale proceeds of her ornaments. (*Tarikh-i-Azam*, p. 44)

137. See Chap. V, Sec. III, note 21

138. He was a Kashmiri by birth and as a youth he had gone to Herat to complete his theological studies. He was the sultan's tutor when he was a prince. As sultan he appointed him *Shaikh-ul-Islam* and subsequently principal of the residential college which he established in the capital. He was a man of great attainments and erudition. (*Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik* (Ms), p. 34; *Tarikh-i-Narayan Kaul* (Ms), f. 48a; *Tarikh-i-Azam* (Ms), p. 43; *Tarikh-i-Hasan* (Ms), II, p. 303)

139. Originally he belonged to the famous qazi family of Sialkot. His scholarship attracted the sultan who appointed him *qazi*. According to Srivara, he was a master musician. (Srivara (Dutt), p. 135; *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik* (Ms), p. 34; *Tarikh-i-Narayan Kaul* (Ms), f. 48a and *Tarikh-i-Azam* (Ms), p. 43)

140. A scholar, poet and court-wit, Mulla Ahmed was also one of the

Jonaraja and Pandit Srivara.[141] Among the great vocal and instrumental musicians the names of Mulla Jamil, Mulla Udi, Soma Bhatta and Srivara[142] were conspicuous.

Educational Policy

In matters of imparting sound education and culture to his subjects, the sultan appears to have been his own adviser. Tolerant, cultured and enlightened as he was, he seems to have realised that in order to bring about an effectual change in the character of his subjects, he must take them when they are young and train them up in the way he would have them go. With this policy in view, he established residential, non-sectarian educational institutions, where students were provided with teachers, books, clothing and food, in fact, all the amenities of a healthy life free of charge.[143] By this method he raised a community of intelligent young men who became active propagandists of his policy and programme whose aim was Hindu-Muslim concord and national prosperity.

But his unique contribution to the cause of education and culture was the introduction of the mother-tongue as the medium of teaching. His subjects comprised Kashmiris and non-Kashmiris. The Kashmiri masses were mostly illiterate while the educated among them used Sanskrit as their medium for writing and reading as it had continued

directors ot the translation bureau which the sultan had established. He was also poet-laureate. As a result of some altercation between the king and the poet the latter was expelled from the state. Subsequently he was recalled. (Firishta, II, p. 343; *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik* (Ms), p. 43; Jarrett, *JASB*, 1880 (I) p. 20)

Col. Jarrett wrongly calls him the author of the Persian translation of *Nur-Nama* which he again incorrectly says is a history of Kashmir in Kashmiri, whereas *Nur-Nama* is a collection of the sayings of Shaikh Nur-ud-din Rishi, who never wrote a history

141. Jonaraja and Srivara were among the nobles of the court, and contemporary chroniclers

142. Srivara (Dutt), p. 135; *Ain* (Jarrett), II, pp. 388-89; *Tabaqat*, III, p. 439

143. Srivara, p. 144

from ancient times. The non-Kashmiris who were Muslims mostly from Samarqand, Bukhara, Khurasan, Hamadan and the neighbouring district spoke and wrote in Persian. Himself a proficient linguist, knowing Sanskrit, Kashmiri, Tibetan and Persian,[144] the sultan seems to have realised that one could receive best instruction in his own mother-tongue, and not in a foreign language.[145]

He seems to have also realised that close harmony and friendliness between Hindus and Muslims could be successfully effected if some great works of the one community dealing with subjects like history and culture were translated into the language of the other. With this aim in view, he established a translation department where competent scholars proficient in Sanskrit, Persian and Kashmiri languages translated popular Sanskrit works into Persian, and selected popular Sanskrit and Persian works were further translated into Kashmiri,[146] in order to acquaint even illiterate Kashmiris who formed the bulk of the population with their contents. Thus Mulla Ahmad,[147] the court-poet, translated the *Mahabharata, Dasavatara* and Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* into Persian. Jonaraja continued the *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana into Sanskrit verse and brought it down to 1458. Then Srivara, another contemporary of the sultan, continued it. Utta Soma Pandita collected the biographies of the kings of Kashmir (*Zaina Charit*)[148] in Kashmiri. Yudha Bhatta composed the *Zaina Prakasa,*[149] or the biography of Sultan Zain-ul-Abiden in Kashmiri verse. Bhattavatara, who had read the *Shahnama* of Firdausi, composed *Zaina-Tarang,*[150] a history of Kashmir in verse, on the model of the famous Persian epic.

The sultan also contributed his share. He was a linguist,

144. *Tabaqat,* III, p. 439; Firishta, II, p. 344

145. Srivara, p. 146

146. *Ibid.; Ain* (Jarrett), II, p. 388; *Tabaqat,* III, p. 439; Haig, *Camb. India,* III, p. 282

147. Srivara, *Ibid.; Tabaqat, Ibid.;* Firishta, II, p. 344

148. *Ibid*

149. *Ibid*

150. Srivara, p. 136

scholar and poet, and *Qutb*[151] was his title. He wrote a treatise in Persian on pyrotechnics.[152] In his old age he wrote a treatise in Persian and named it *Shikayat*.[153] It was written on the model of *Yoga-Vasishta* and its theme was 'the vanity of human wishes'. He had made a thorough study of the *Yoga-Vasishta* and *Gita Govinda*.[154]

Foreign Policy

In his foreign policy Zain-ul-Abiden aimed to secure his state from foreign interference and invasion. He believed that so long as his country was internally peaceful and economically viable, she was safe. Accordingly, he supplied Jasrath Khukhar[155] with the materials of war to occupy him in the Punjab. He killed two birds with one stone. He diverted the attention of the turbulent Khukhars and the unfriendly Raja Bhimdev of Jammu from Kashmir. The states of Rajauri[156] and Punch,[157] which had formerly seceded from Kashmir, once more became feudatory and acted as strong defence against invasions from the south. Jammu[158] once more sought the alliance of Kashmir after the death of Raja Bhimdev in 1423. Soon the states of Ladakh and Baltistan also accepted the sovereignty of the sultan after the battle of Shel.[159] Thereby Kashmir was

151. *Baharistan*, f. 55b; *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 34; *Tarikh-i-Narayan Kaul*, f. 48a; Dr. Sufi's statement that *Qutb* was the title of Mulla Ahmad, poet-laureate of the sultan, is not supported by facts. (Sufi, *op. cit.*, p. 85)

152. Srivara (Dutt), p. 135. Nizam-ud-din and Firishta are of opinion that the treatise was written by some Habib. (*Tabaqat*, III, p. 439; Firishta, II, p. 344)

153. Srivara, p. 167

154. Srivara (Dutt), pp. 145-47

155. See Sec. II *supra*

156. Srivara, p. 123; Vogel and Hutchison, 'History of Rajauri', *Jour. Pun. Hist. Soc.*, IV, (part ii), 1925, p. 145. Raja Sudersena, Raja of Rajauri, presented his eldest daughter Rajya Devi to the sultan

157. This is evident from the fact that the sultan appointed prince Haji Khan governor of Punch. (Srivara, *Ibid.*, p. 105). Haji Khan's son Husain Khan also acted as governor of Punch. (*Ibid.*, p. 160)

158. Jonaraja, pp. 83, 86

159. See notes 25 and 26 *supra*

rescued from the danger of an invasion from the north-west also from where political disturbances had originated in the past.

To implement his development plans without any distraction from outside Zain-ul-Abiden left nothing to chance. He established an effective and successful foreign service. He made more friends among chiefs in India and abroad than any ruler of Kashmir before or after him. Within India he was a witness to the treaty[160] concluded in 1441 between Jasrath Khukhar and Bahlul Lodi.[161] He maintained friendly relations with Bahlul even after the death of Jasrath. He exchanged presents with Sultan Mahmud of Gujarat,[162] the rulers of Sind[163] and Malwa, and the Raja of Gwalior.[164]

In his diplomatic dealings with important Muslim states outside India, his aim appears to have been to counteract the propaganda of the Saiyids of Kashmir who had originally migrated from Samarqand, Bukhara, Persia and the neighbouring regions, to escape the ravages of Timur and

160. *Tarikh-i-Mubarak-Shahi;* Elliot and Dowson, *Hist. of Ind.*, IV, pp. 85-86; Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* (text), I, p. 304

161. Srivara, p. 150. The chronicler writes: 'Valluka, the king of Delhi, though blood-thirsty and reckless in his work of destruction was nevertheless bound to the monarch (Zain-ul-Abiden).' This 'Valluka' of Srivara is Bahlul Shah Lodi, who was King of Delhi (1451-88). (*Ain* (Jarrett), II, p. 389; *Tabaqat*, III, p. 440)

162. Srivara, *Ibid.*, p. 151; *Ain, Ibid.; Tabaqat, Ibid*

163. *Tabaqat, Ibid.;* Haig, *Camb. India*, III, p. 282. It may be interesting to quote Srivara who writes: (1) The king of Panchananda (Panjnad) sent him his own horse! (2) Khaluchaya, the king of Mandavyagaunda gratified the monarch with presents of clothes, and the monarch (Zain-ul-Abiden) sent him a beautiful poem composed by himself in his own language. (Srivara, pp. 149-50). Nizam-ud-din writes: 'the king of Sind presented him many things and a poem in praise of the sultan.' (*Tabaqat, Ibid*).

'Mandavyagaunda' of Srivara, we have failed to trace. 'Panchanand' or the modern Panjnad is the place where the five tributaries Sutlej, Beas, Ravi, Chenab and Jehlam fall into the Sind. (*Imperial Gazetteer India*, 1908, xix, 398)

164. Srivara, p. 150; *Tabaqat, Ibid*

economic distress, and to live comfortably amidst the peace, plenty and pleasures of Kashmir. But once they had settled in this country, they themselves started playing the role of Timur. They ruthlessly destroyed the ancient culture of the country as well as her manpower.

Zain-ul-Abiden could not tolerate their activities. Against them he rehabilitated the Hindus. With the support and cooperation of the Hindus and his party of influential and popular Muslim sufis and savants, he was able to establish peace and prosperity in the country rendering thereby the power and influence of the Saiyids virtually lame and ineffective. To weaken them externally also, he established friendly relations with Sultan Abu Said Mirza[165] (1452-67) of Khurasan, the King of Egypt and the Sheriff of Mecca.[166] He sent them famous things of Kashmir as presents, such as saffron, shawls, musk, and the otto of roses, etc. He received from them horses, camels and mules. To strengthen his policy further he established his reputation as a good Muslim when he proclaimed himself *Naib Amir-ul-Muminin*.[167]

VIII

DOMESTIC LIFE

Marriage

Zain-ul-Abiden had three wives and not one only as is generally supposed.[168] But in matters of matrimony as those of administration, he was guided by expediency and not

165. He was the grandfather of Babar and reigned in Khurasan. (*Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), Intro., p. 79; Srivara, *Ibid.*, p. 151; *Tabaqat*, III, 440; *Ain* (*op. cit.*), II, 389

166. Srivara, *Ibid.*; *Tabaqat*, *Ibid*

167. Coins of Zain-ul-Abiden dated 857 A.H. (1447) have the legend 'Zain-ul-Abiden' on the obverse and '*Zarb-Naib Amir-ul-Muminin*' on the reverse. (Rodgers, 'Copper Coins of Sultan of Kashmir', *JASB*, 1879 (iv) 284)

168. Haig, *Camb. India*, III, p. 282; Kak, *op. cit.*, p. 39

by choice. According to Jonaraja,[169] the sultan married two daughters of the Raja of Jammu, and they were the mothers of his four sons,[170] Adam Khan, Haji Khan, Jasrath Khan and Bahram Khan. But we are not told whether the Jammu princesses were the daughters of Raja Bhimdev or his successor Raja Maldev.[171] Whatever the fact, the marriage could not have taken place before 1423, when Raja Bhimdev, the sworn enemy of both Jasrath Khukhar and Zain-ul-Abiden, was killed by Jasrath.[172] Their enemy having being disposed of, the two clever diplomats preferred peace to war with Jammu. Both married[173] in the royal family of Jammu. Zain-ul-Abiden afterwards also married Makhdumah Khatun.[174] She was the daughter of Saiyid Mahmud Baihaqi, the chief of the Baihaqi Saiyids.[175] This

169. Jonaraja (Dutt), p. 86; Srivara also mentions that the sultan married in the royal house of Jammu (Madra), and that the sultan's four sons were born from this marriage. (Srivara (Dutt), p. 194)

170. Jonaraja, *Ibid*. But later authorities mention names of three sons only, *viz*., Adam Khan, Haji Khan and Bahram Khan, because Jasrath had died in infancy. (Srivara (Dutt), p. 103; *Tabaqat*, III, 441; Firishta, II, p. 344; Rodgers, *JASB*, 1885, p. 105; Haig, *Camb. India*, III, p. 283)

171. Jonaraja, p. 83; Perhaps Maldev of Jonaraja is Manakdev of Srivara (Srivara (Dutt), p. 194), and Malakdev of Nizam-ud-din and Firishta (*Tabaqat*), III, p. 447; Firishta, II, p. 347). He is mentioned as 'Ajabdev' by the author of *Rajdarshani*

172. *Ind. Ant*., xxxvi, 1907, p. 8

173. Jonaraja (Dutt), p. 86; *Ind. Ant*., *Ibid*., p. 3

174. Srivara calls her Vida Khatun. (Srivara (Dutt), p. 157). The Kashmir Muslim chroniclers call her 'Baihaqi Begam'. But according to the following extant Persian inscription on her tomb-stone in the Mazar-i-Baha-ud-din, Srinagar, her name was Makhdumah Khatun:

'*Wafat-i-Hazrat Makhdumah Khatun*
Ki sal hashat sad o haftad biguzasht.'

Translation: Makhdumah Khatun died in 870 A.H. (1465)

175. The Baihaqi branch of the Saiyids had originally come from Baihaq (Sabzwar) in the train of Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani in the reign of Sultan Sikandar. But Saiyid Muhammad Baihaqi, their chief, fell out with Sultan Ali Shah whence he and most of his followers had to quit Kashmir; they settled in Delhi. In the reign of Sultan Zain-ul-Abiden they revived connections with Kashmir and their chief entrusted his son Saiyid Hasan to the Sultan and then died in 829 A.H. (1426). Thereafter,

marriage, too, appears to have been necessitated by political considerations. The sultan was determined to crush the power of the Saiyids, who had caused widespread discontent and destruction in the state. He remained so much devoted[176] to her that after her death in 1465,[177] he lived lonely and in perpetual distress.

Sons

Though a happy king, Zain-ul-Abiden was not destined to be a happy father. Mutual jealousies and bitter hatred among his sons brought them into conflict with their father also. Two of them, Adam Khan and Haji Khan, never agreed with each other and their youngest brother Bahram Khan ever attempted to widen the gulf between them. Two facts were responsible for the conflict between the brothers. In the first place, the princes were born of two[178] mothers; secondly, the sultan had entrusted them to the care of the sons of his nurse whose loyalty was doubtful.[179] To prevent the situation from taking an ugly turn, the sultan separated Adam Khan and Haji Khan from each other as well as from their advisers. In 1451 he despatched Adam Khan on an expedition to Baltistan.[180] On his return, Haji Khan was asked to march on Punch. But the mischief-mongers did not sit idle in the meantime. They incited Haji Khan to rebel against his father. Thus ensued in 1452 a bloody conflict, between the sultan and Adam Khan on the one side

the sultan showed much consideration to Saiyid Hasan and enlisted him among his 'amirs'. Makhdumah Khatun was the daughter of Saiyid Hasan Baihaqi. (*Baharistan* ff. 37b, 45b; *Tarikh-i-Hasan* (Ms), II, p. 310). Srivara confirms that she belonged to the family of Saiyids. (Srivara (Dutt), p. 157)

176. Srivara, *Ibid*

177. See note 174 *supra*

178. Jonaraja (Dutt), p. 86

179. Srivara (Dutt), p. 104

180. Srivara, pp. 105-06; *Tabaqat*, III, p. 441; Firishta II, p. 345; *Ind. Ant.*, July 1908, p. 189; Nizam-ud-din and Firishta mention Tibet. Col. Haig correctly mentions 'Baltistan'. (Haig, *Camb. India*, III, p. 283). Srivara mentions 'Bhautta' country, i.e., Baltistan and Ladakh

and Haji Khan on the other, at Marahilla.[181] Haji Khan was put to rout. Most of his troops were killed and the sultan ordered a column of their heads to be erected,[182] in order to celebrate his victory and to serve the event as a warning for disturbers of public peace.

The battle of Marahilla gained Adam Khan the favour of his father. He was appointed governor of the Baramulla province instead of Haji Khan.[183] But Adam Khan was by nature miserly, hard-hearted, excessively cruel and covetous. He let loose his followers. They ravaged the province and subjected the people to unspeakable cruelties which earned him the nick-name *admikhun*.[184] Worse than this,

181. According to Srivara the battle was fought in *Laukika* (45)28 (1452) at 'Marashilla', in the vicinity of Supersuman, where Haji Khan had arrived after crossing the Pir Panjal mountain at Surapor (Hirapur). (*Srivara* (Dutt), pp. 108-09). 'Marashilla' of Srivara is Marahilla (Lat. 33° 14', Long. 74° 59') in the vicinity of Supersuman, a pargana in Shupian, comprising a district lying at the foothills on the left bank of the Rembiara river. (Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 379). Supersuman existed as an extant pargana in the time of Akbar also. The modern name 'Shupian' appears to be the vocal contraction of 'Shuparsuman', which is the ancient Sanskrit name of the pargana. (For Marahilla, see *Jammu and Kashmir Survey Map* sheet no. 30, published in 1888)

182. Nizam-ud-din and Firishta, quoted by Haig, are of opinion that the sultan celebrated the victory by ordering a general massacre of his opponents and erecting a column of their heads. (*Tabaqat*, III, p. 443; Firishta, II, p. 346; Haig, *Camb. India*, III, p. 283). According to Srivara, who was an eye-witness of this event, the king caused the heads of the great warriors who had fallen in the battle to be brought and over them he built a beautiful edifice in the town. (*Srivara* (Dutt), p. 115.) The sultan also ordered that none of his men should harass his son. (*Ibid.*, p. 114.) Sir Wolesley Haig's statement, that 'Zain-ul-Abiden celebrated his victory with a ferocity foreign to his character' appears unwarranted. (*Camb. India, Ibid*)

183. Srivara, p. 116

184. *Ibid.*, p. 173; *Tabaqat*, III, p. 443; Firishta, p. 346. Srivara alone gives the date of the battle of Marahilla as a result of which Adam Khan obtained the governorship of Kamraz. Nizam-ud-din and Firishta do not give the date. Haig is mistaken in placing the appointment of Adam Khan after the great famine of 1460. (*Camb. India*, III, p. 283). Adam Khan held the charge of governor of Kamraz for seven years (1452-59), whereas Nizam-ud-din calculates only six. (*Tabaqat*, Ibid.)

Adam Khan enlisted the support of the rebellious Chaks,[185] because they imbued him with hopes of the throne. Thus instigated, he marched against his father. The sultan was, therefore, compelled to recall Haji Khan from exile. Then he marched against Adam Khan. They fought a battle at Sopur in 1459.[186] Adam Khan was disgracefully defeated, and to save his life, he fled from Kashmir.

Adam Khan's defeat sealed his fate for ever. His treachery cost him the affection of his father and his cruel treatment of his subjects in Baramulla, deprived him of their support and sympathy. All his efforts to gain the sympathy of the sultan or his subjects ended in smoke. On the other hand, the sultan began to shower his affection upon Haji Khan, the future Sultan Hasan Shah. He made him heir-apparent.[187]

Death

The last years of Zain-ul-Abiden were exceedingly strenuous and unhappy. In 1460, the country was caught in the grip of a severe famine,[188] because the *shali* crop was destroyed by an untimely snowfall in October. In 1462, a disastrous flood laid the country low.[189] In 1465, queen Makhdumah Khatun[190] passed away and the sultan lost the solace of his life. To quote Srivara,[191] 'it was by union with her that the king thought his life happy and by her separation all things appeared to him as nothing'. Her death was followed by that of his trusted friends, faithful ministers and kind and sympathetic relations.[192] Perhaps he had outlived his time. He felt that authority was slipping out of his

185. Srivara, p. 102; *Baharistan*, ff. 52a-52b
186. Srivara, p. 128. Srivara alone gives the date of this battle, *viz.*, *Laukika* 4535 (1459)
187. Srivara, p. 131; *Tabaqat*, III, p. 444; Firishta, p. 346
188. Srivara, pp. 116-17
189. *Ibid.*, pp. 119-20
190. See note 174 *supra*
191. Srivara, p. 157
192. *Ibid.*

hands. Then he was much agonised by Haji Khan's evil habit of drinking. At the same time, Adam Khan made a bid for the throne.[193] But coward as he was he failed to strike.[194]

Meanwhile the sad and unhappy sultan shut himself up in his palace. He listened to *Mokhshopaya*,[195] the way to salvation, and wrote his *Shikayat*,[196] in which he described 'the vanity of human wishes'. Such was his state of mind when he died at the age of 69 on Friday, in May-June 1470,[197] after a long and glorious reign of 50 years.

193. *Ibid.*, p. 160

194. *Ibid.*, pp. 113, 169 and 173

195. The transcendantal philosophy of Vasishta as contained in *Mokhshopaya* was related to the sultan by Srivara (*Ibid.*, p. 166)

196. The Sultan had himself composed this book in Persian. (*Ibid.*, p. 167)

197. There is difference of opinion about the date of the death of Sultan Zain-ul-Abiden. Srivara, who was present at the moment writes: 'The king Jina reigned happily for 52 years and went to heaven on Friday on the twelfth day of the moon in the month of *Jaishta* in the year 45 (46) . . . and counted sixty-nine years of his life'. (*Ibid.*, p. 175.) Mirza Haidar Dughlat says that he reigned for 50 years. (*Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), 433). According to Abul Fazl and Nizam-ud-din he reigned for 52 years, having died in 877 A.H. (1472). (*Ain* (Jarrett), II, p. 379; *Tabaqat*, III, p. 446; Firishta 346.) Kashmiri chroniclers disagree on this point. But the author of the *Baharistan* alone agrees with Srivara as far as Sanskrit date is concerned. He states:

'52 years after his coronation, the army of death was let loose on the person of Zain-ul-Abiden and in 878 *Hijri* or 12 Jeth 46, according to Kashmiri era, he passed away and was buried near his father.' (*Baharistan*, f. 58a)

Considering the above notices we find that Persian chroniclers do not give the correct Hijri date which corresponds to the *Laukika* 4546 (1470). Secondly, Srivara counts 52 years of the reign of the sulṭan. By actual calculation it comes to 50 years. If we even add one month which makes every Hindu calendar year after 2½ years of 13 months, it does not come to 52 years. The only authority who appears to have had correct information of the total period of the Sultan's reign is Mirza Haidar Dughlat. He states that the sultan reigned for fifty years. (*Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R). p. 433). Thirdly, that the sultan died in 1470, in which year he was succeeded by his son Haji Haidar Shah, is supported by the legend on the latter's coins. (Rodgers, 'Coins of the Sultans of Kashmir', *JASB*, 1896, lxv, Plate I, p. 225.) This is perhaps the only instance in the chronology of

IX

ZAIN-UL-ABIDEN'S PLACE IN HISTORY

Zain-ul-Abiden stands high above all those who ruled Kashmir. He was a great and glorious sovereign of very high ideals, and filled with the desire to achieve them. He was universally loved and respected and is still remembered as *Budshah,*[198] the great king.

He is one of the great individuals of history, a man who defied the prejudices of his time and attempted to create among his wrangling subjects a new concept of politics and culture, that his Kashmir should be without religious barriers where all men are members of one state irrespective of caste, colour or creed.

His noble character is sufficiently delineated by his actions as man and king. He was cultured, humane, accessible, munificent and an untiring worker. He possessed a

the Sultans of Kashmir where Sir Wolesley Haig has rejected on numismatic evidence the statements of Abul Fazl, Nizam-ud-din and Firishta. (Haig, *Camb. India,* III, p. 284; *JRAS,* 1918, p. 456.)

As regards the place where the sultan was buried, Srivara states: it was where the previous kings looked beautiful as in sleep (meaning Mazar-i-Salatin). He adds that a long crystal stone was placed in the graveyard, it was the highest; with 'verses'. (Srivara (Dutt), pp. 176, 179). From this important notice of an eye-witness, we can safely infer that an inscription had been cut on the tomb-stone of the sultan. After having ransacked the whole graveyard, I failed to discover the inscription. All tombs have finely polished black stones; unfortunately, the sultan's tomb is the only one without a crown. It is 16 × 7 hands which agrees with the statement of Srivara. The whereabouts of this important treasure (crystal on the tomb with inscription) may for ever remain a mystery

198. Srivara writes: 'No one cooked his food on the day (he died); no smoke arose from the houses; all were dumb with grief. They lamented and said that the king was the greatest (*Budshah*) among all the sovereigns.' (Srivara (Dutt), pp. 178 and 181; *Baharistan*, f. 57b; *Tarikh-i-Azam* (Ms.), p. 40)

The sultan is popularly remembered as *Budshah*, meaning 'Great Sultan'. Association of the title 'Budshah' with his name appears to have had such an inspiring effect that to this day Kashmiri labourers and boatmen are heard repeating *'Budshah—Padshah'* (Budshah—the great king), to invoke his help to pull through arduous physical difficulties

boundless appetite for accommodation, and a deep intellectual curiosity. He was a man of renaissance. His private life was very different from the usual manner of a Muhammadan prince of those days. He was extremely temperate and indulged in none of those sensuous pleasures which spoil character. He kept no seraglio, and lived as the husband of one wife at one time and when his most beloved wife predeceased him, he lived the remaining years of life lonely and in distress. In his youthful days when the feudatory Raja of Rajauri presented him the hand of his daughter, Zain-ul-Abiden accepted her but as a 'mother'.[199] Yet he was no puritan. He enjoyed singing, music and dancing.[200]

It is more as an administrator, a social reformer and a great advocate of communal harmony, amity and friendliness that Zain-ul-Abiden towers very high, rather the highest, among the great rulers of India, nay perhaps of the world. He had a genius for originality. He was only a boy of 19 when he became the sultan. He had immense difficulties and great dangers to surmount. While the country he came to govern was numerically, economically and culturally extremely impoverished, he had also to reckon with a dangerous neighbour in the person of Bhimdev, the Raja of Jammu. But Zain-ul-Abiden proved a born diplomat when he embroiled Raja Jasrath Khukhar with Bhimdev and thereby saved Kashmir from both a friend in distress and a foe in arms.

By his policy of religious toleration, most unique example in history, he converted the discontented and humbled Kashmiris, particularly Hindus, into active citizens and loyal subjects. He rehabilitated the Hindus, and restored to them their ancient culture and religion. He associated them in the administration, and himself accepted popular Hinduism when he visited Hindu shrines and celebrated Hindu festivals, for which he has been censured.[201] His unique contri-

199. Vogel and Hutchison, *Jour. Pun. Hist. Soc.*, IX, Part II, p. 145
200. Srivara, p. 133; *Baharistan*, f. 57
201. The author of *Baharistan* states:

bution to communal harmony lies in the personal and official encouragement he gave to the new Muslims who had accepted Islam under pressure in the reigns of his two predecessors, to revert to their original faith.[202] Yet he remained a very god-fearing and a devout Muslim. He observed fasts during the month of the *Ramazan* when he totally abstained from meat.[203] He called himself *Naib-i-Amir-ul-Muminin*.[204] He was a believer in saints and ascetics and profited by their association.

In matters of social reform, too, his great merit consists in his originality which was not of an arm-chair theorist, but of a practical politician. To him social and administrative reforms were a necessary accompaniment of political success. In establishing reformatories, in educating criminal tribes whom he gave healthy means of livelihood, he was three centuries ahead of the western criminal reform movement, although we may not pardon him for restoring the cruel rite of the *sati*. In his educational policy, he showed great originality by founding free residential schools in which the mother-tongue was made the medium of instruction.

In short, let us, while closing the account of this 'great king', repeat the inspiring words of Srivara, his contempo-

'The one great fault of this sultan consisted in this that heresy and idolatry and temple building which had disappeared during the regime of Sikandar, the iconoclast, and nothing remained of them, were revived by Zain-ul-Abiden. . . And in every village *Jashns* were organised on particular occasions which gave birth to innumerable blasphemous innovations in the Islam of the Prophet.' (*Baharistan*, ff. 57a, 57b)

Even the XIX century Pandit historian accuses the sultan of having contaminated the spiritual powers of the Brahman community by forcing them to use food cooked overnight, and preserves and pickles, and to learn Persian. (*Tarikh-i-Birbal Kachru*, Ms.). Mr. Vigne reproduces the statement of Pandit Birbal Kachru. (Vigne, *op. cit.*, II, p. 51)

202. It is interesting to quote Nizam-ud-din on the subject. He records: 'Many of the Brahmans who had accepted Islam in the reign of Sikandar abjured (the new faith) and no *ulama* could stop them.' (*Tabaqat*, III, p. 437)

203. Srivara, p. 170

204. *JASB*, 1879 (iv), 284

rary: 'Time is endless and great is the expanse of the world, so that some future kings in some distant country may believe it possible for them to perform such worthy and enterprising acts, and accomplish deeds which may almost rival his.'[205] That by itself manifests the summit of grandeur, glory and popularity which Sultan Zain-ul-Abiden had achieved!

205. Srivara, p. 90

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Turn of the Tide

HAIDAR SHAH (1470-72)

THREE DAYS AFTER THE DEATH of Zain-ul-Abiden, Haji Khan ascended the throne with the title of Sultan Haidar Shah.[1] He possessed a two-fold claim to the throne. In the first place, the late king had nominated him heir-apparent in 1459. Secondly, Adam Khan had failed to seize the reins of government when Zain-ul-Abiden had for all practical purposes ceased to function as sultan.

Yet Adam Khan remained a strong rival. But Haidar Shah frustrated his plans to occupy the throne by pursuing a wise policy. He transferred the capital to Nowhatta[2] where he nominated his son, Hasan Khan, heir to the throne and, simultaneously, appointed him governor of Kamraz.[3] Then he married him to the daughter of Saiyid Mirak Hasan Baihaqi, the most influential leader of the Saiyids, and assigned to him the rich districts of Biru and Bangil[4]

1. Srivara, p. 183; (Jarrett), II, p. 379; *Tabaqat*, III, p. 446; Firishta, p. 347. Col. Haig thinks that the appellation 'Haji' is a prefix. (Haig, *JRAS*, 1918, p. 457). Srivara mentions the king as 'Hajya Haidara'. (Srivara, pp. 184 and 205). Abul Fazl styles him as 'Haji Haidar Shah'. They never meant that he was a *'Haji'*. As a matter of fact, no sultan of Kashmir went to Mecca on a pilgrimage. On his coins he is only styled as 'Haidar Shah'. (Rodgers, 'Sultans of Kashmir', *JASB*, 1879, p. 284)

2. The 'Sikandarapuri' of Srivara has been known to the Muslims as Nowhatta, which is a quarter in Srinagar in the neighbourhood of Jama Masjid. (Srivara, p. 182)

3. *Tabaqat, op. cit.* Col. Briggs erroneously mentions it as 'Gujra'. (Briggs, Firishta, IV, p. 475). Dr. Sufi copies Briggs. (Sufi, *op. cit.*, p. 93)

4. Srivara, *Ibid.*, pp. 184-85; *Tabaqat*, III, p. 446. Biru (ancient Baharupa, Long. 74° 39′, Lat. 34° 1′) and Bangil (ancient Bhangila, Long. 74° 37′, Lat. 34° 10′) are two parganas lying to the south-west of Srinagar. (Bates, *op. cit.* pp. 136-37, 153; Stein, *Anc. Geog.*, paras 120-23)

as jagirs. At the same time, he appointed Bahram Khan, his younger brother, governor of Nagam.[5]

The transfer of the capital from Nowshahr to Nowhatta, however, proved a prelude to subsequent history. The two places symbolised different ideologies. While Nowshahr, the capital founded by Zain-ul-Abiden, was a symbol of communal harmony, amity and tranquillity, Nowhatta, the capital founded by Sultan Sikandar, commemorated an age of communal repression, misgovernment and social chaos.

Soon after Haidar Shah turned into a dissolute and drunken wretch and forgot his duties to the state. He abandoned himself to scandalous excesses. And he left his ministers free to perpetuate violent injustice and oppression.[6] In fact, the people came face to face with misfortune when he showed undue favour to Luli,[7] a barber, who became his evil genius. A wicked and a grossly vicious fellow, Luli led him into all sorts of misdeeds. The first to bear the brunt was Husain Kuchay,[8] the state treasurer, who had helped the sultan to occupy the throne. A good and kind-hearted man, he could not tolerate Luli's highhandedness. He entered into conspiracy with Adam Khan in order to rid the country of Luli's brutalities. But the plot leaked out and Kuchay paid with his life. The tragedy compelled Adam Khan to give up the scheme of invading Kashmir and seizing the throne. He stopped at Jammu. Here he was killed while assisting his maternal uncle, Raja Manakdev, against the Turks. On hearing the news of his death, Haidar

5. Srivara, pp. 184-89; *Tabaqat*, III, p. 447; Nagam (ancient Nagrama —Lat. 33° 56′, Long. 74° 50′) is an extant village situated eleven miles south of Srinagar on the road to Chrar-i-Sharif. (Bates, *Ibid.*, p. 285; Stein, *Ibid.*, para 119)

6. Srivara, 186; Rodgers, *JASB*, 1885, p. 107; Haig, *Camb. Ind.*, III, p. 284

7. Srivara mentions his name as 'Rikttetara' and 'Purna'. (Srivara, pp. 186, 188, and 189). Nizam-ud-din styles him as 'Luli'. (*Tabaqat*, III, p. 446; Firishta, p. 347; Rodgers, *JASB*, 1885, p. 107; Haig, *Camb. Ind.*, III, p. 284). Col. Briggs and Dr. Sufi mention the wrong variant 'Booby' —Briggs, Firishta, IV, p. 475; Sufi, *op. cit.*, p. 93

8. Srivara, p. 191. *Tabaqat*, III, p. 446; Haig, *Camb. Ind.* III, p. 284. Kuchay is an agricultural subcaste in Kashmir

Shah overcame his former bitterness. He ordered his body to be brought to Srinagar where it was buried beside the tomb of his mother.[9]

Now Luli turned his wickedness against the Hindus. They were persecuted, their temples and idols were desecrated and their lands were confiscated. Hard-pressed by social injustice and official repression many Hindus renounced their faith and those who managed to save their caste adopted Muslim style of dress.[10]

While the orgy of cruelties against the Hindus was going on, Hasan Khan, the heir-apparent, was ordered to restore order in Punch and Rajauri, because he had opposed the anti-Hindu policy of Luli. His absence from the capital, death of Adam Khan and the increasing unpopularity of government prompted Bahram Khan, the youngest surviving son of Zain-ul-Abiden, to conspire against the government. He was on the brink of success when the sudden return of the heir-apparent thwarted his plans.[11] Meanwhile, the king, in a state of drunkenness, slipped while carousing on the polished floor of a hall in his palace, and he died of the injuries in April-May 1472. He had been king for one year and ten months.[12] He was buried by the side of his father.

9. Srivara, p. 194; *Tabaqat*, III, p. 447; Firishta, II, p. 347. According to Srivara, the king caused his body to be brought from Madra country (Jammu) and placed it beside that of his mother. Nizam-ud-din and Firishta state that he was buried by the side of his father. The Kashmir Archaeology Department has located his tomb at Sahyar (Srinagar) between the 6th and 7th bridge. Here in a reserved enclosure of 40×20 yards lies a solitary tomb without any inscription. The notice placed by the Archaeo. Depart. states: 'The traditionally supposed tomb of Shahzada Adam Khan, son of Sultan Zain-ul-Abiden, killed in the battle with the Moguls at Jammu. His deadbody was brought over to Srinagar by his brother Sultan Haji Haidar Shah of Kashmir and buried here'

10. Srivara, pp. 195-96

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 199-200; *Tabaqat*, III, p. 447; Firishta, II, 347

12. According to Srivara the sultan reigned for one year and ten months and died on 5th day of the bright moon in the month of *Vaisakh* in the year 4548 (April-May 1472). (Srivara, pp. 203-4.) According to Abul Fazl, Nizam-ud-din, Firishta and Col. Haig the king reigned for

II

HASAN SHAH (1472-84)

After the death of his father, Hasan Khan ascended the throne with the title of Sultan Hasan Shah.[13] As prince he had given proof of great drive while restoring order in Punch and Rajauri.[14] As king he exhibited much political ability by appointing Mulla Ahmad Yatu[15] prime minister. He bestowed on him the title of 'Malik', and assigned to him the district of Nagam as jagir. The Malik remained his loyal, devoted and capable minister.

Ahmad Yatu's regime was a period of reform and consolidation. He was a follower of the policy of Zain-ul-Abiden, and attempted to revive the traditions of that king. Under his influence, Hasan Shah retransferred the seat of government to Nowshahr,[16] granted freedom of worship to the Hindus,[17] reenacted the laws and usages of Zain-ul-

fourteen months. (*Tabaqat*, III, p. 447; Firishta, II, p. 347; *Ain* (Jarrett), II, p. 379; Haig, *Camb. Ind.*, III, pp. 284-95). Apparently 'Yak sal du mah' instead of 'Yak sal dah mah' appears to be a clerical error. The author of the *Baharistan* reproduces the date mentioned by Srivara which is also supported by numismatic evidence. (*Baharistan*, f.58b; see also coins 3 and 4 in Rodgers, 'Coins of Sultans of Kashmir', *JASB*, LIV, Part (I), 1885)

13. The name 'al-sultan al-azam Hasan Shah' occurs in the legend on his coins, which gives the year 876 A.H. (1471-72). (See coins 3 and 4, Rodgers, 'Coins of Sultans of Kashmir', *JASB*, LIV, Part (I), 1885)

14. Srivara, p. 198

15. It is not 'Aswad' or 'Asee' as mentioned in the *Tabaqat*, in the history of Firishta, and in the *Cambridge History of India*. (*Tabaqat*, III, p. 448; Firishta, II, p. 348; Haig, *Camb. Ind.* III, p. 285). Mr. Rodgers wrongly goes a step further in explaining 'Aswad' of Firishta too literally as 'black'. (Rodgers, 'Coins of Sultans of Kashmir', *JASB*, 1885, p. 108). In the Persian chronicles of Kashmir the name occurs as 'Aitu' as well as 'Yatu'. But I prefer the latter form which is common among the masses in Kashmir.

16. Srivara, p. 206

17. This is supported by an inscription discovered by Dr. Sten Konow in 1908 at Parepur, a village in the Lolab valley about 4-5 miles above Kroras (Lat. 34° 35′, Long. 74° 32′) in the Uttar Pargana. (Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 246, Stein, *Rajat*, II, p. 329). Near the village is a tank known as

Abiden,[18] and released all political prisoners.[19] Then he imprisoned those who had taken an active part in causing sufferings to the people.[20]

Battle of Dulipura

This was not what the enemies of peace and national welfare desired. They reasserted themselves and caused civil strife. They sent invitations to Bahram Khan, the king's uncle, who with his son had taken shelter in Karnav[21] and was waiting for a favourable opportunity. He invaded the Kamraz[22] district. The situation became tense. But the statesmanlike king controlled it when he addressed his subjects at Sopur in these words: 'The kingdom descends from father to son. I am the son and ought to get it. Who is this uncle of mine to contest the kingdom with me? He is assuredly senior to me in years, but junior in claims. Leave alone the law of succession, the kingdom should belong to the hero; and let him be king who is victorious in the battle.

Vasuk-Nag. A large stone slab 2′-11″ thick and 2′-6″ broad was found there by the learned archaeologist and traveller. It bears the following inscription in Sanskrit characters:

First line: *Paramabhat (Ta) Raka—Maharaja Hasana-Pada*

Second line: *Sam 52 Vai Sudi 15*

Translation: 'In the year 52 on the 15th *tithi* of the bright half of *Vaisaka* (Baisakh) in the reign of Paramabhattaraka Maharaja Hasana.'

That this inscription refers to King Hasan Shah is supported by the corresponding Christian date, 10 May 1476. (Sten Konow, *Notes on Archaeological Tour in Kashmir,* 1908, p. 13)

18. Srivara, p. 209; *Tabaqat,* p. 607; Firishta, II, p. 348

19. Srivara, *Ibid.*

20. *Ibid.,* p. 221

21. *Ibid.,* p. 210. 'Kara' and 'Karmar' in the *Tabaqat* and *Tarikh-i-Firishta* respectively and repeated by Haig are clerical errors: (Haig, *Camb. Ind.,* III, p. 285). Karnav or Karnao (Lat. 34° 14′ and 34° 23′, Long. 73° 50′ and 74°) is a large district lying north-west of Kashmir to the south side of the Kishanganga river. It comprises the valleys of Kajnag and Shamsbrari streams. (Bates, *op. cit.,* pp. 228-29; Stein, *Anc. Geog.,* para 55)

22. Srivara, p. 210

Let us fight it out.'[23] The address had a magical effect. His subjects rushed to his banner. There ensued a terrific civil war between Bahram Khan and Hasan Shah at Dulipura.[24] Bahram Khan was defeated and captured along with his son. Then his eyes were gouged out, and he died three years later.[25]

Sack of Sialkot

Tatar Khan Lodi,[26] uncle of Sultan Bahlul Lodi, was at this time governor of the Punjab. He had given shelter to Fath Khan,[27] son of Prince Adam Khan. Taking advantage of the civil war in Kashmir, Tatar Khan attacked the neighbouring hill-states lying to the south of the valley with the object of obtaining a foothold for his royal guest, and then to use it for the occupation of Kashmir. Such a step naturally brought him into conflict with Raja Ajabdev of Jammu. Jammu and the adjoining hill-states of Punch and Rajauri had been bound together by common political, social and cultural ties. Geographically they lie almost in a direct line. Culturally and socially they belonged to the same Rajput family group. Politically they had been interdependent. Jammu lies in the neighbourhood of Sialkot, which was then the chief town of Tatar Khan.

The Raja of Jammu, viewing the danger to which he was now exposed, discreetly ignored the claims of Prince Fath Khan, although he had family relations with the Jammu raj, and approached Sultan Hasan Shah of Kashmir with a view to offer joint resistance to Tatar Khan. The offer was accepted and an army was immediately despatched under

23. *Ibid.*

24. *Ibid.*, p. 211. Dulipura shown on the survey maps as 'Doolipoora' (Lat. 34° 28′, Long. 74° 11′) is a village lying at the edge of the forest about 2 miles south-east of Sallra, on the road towards Sopur. It is the southernmost village in the Uttar Pargana, situated on the left bank of the Dangerwari stream. (Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 185)

25. Srivara, p. 219

26. *Tarikh-i-Shahi* (*Bib. Ind.*), p. 31; *Tarikh-i-Daudi* (Ms.), pp. 31-34; *Tabaqat*, II, p. 607; Firishta, p. 348

27. Srivara, p. 309

Malik Tazi Bhat,[28] one of his most trusted and experienced generals. The combined troops of the chiefs of Jammu, Kashmir and the feudatory states of Rajauri and Punch came face to face with the forces of Tatar Khan. They defeated the latter in 1480,[29] and also sacked Sialkot.[30] Malik Tazi Bhat was triumphant, but in the hour of triumph he missed to seize the person of Prince Fath Khan and thereby allowed the germs for future trouble to remain active.

Internal Consolidation

While the ignominious defeat of Bahram Khan freed Hasan Shah from internal pressures, the victory of Malik Tazi Bhat guaranteed him security from external threats. But the intriguing and disloyal activities of the Saiyids who had made Kashmir their home had not been suppressed. From a community of religious people they had developed into a political faction of 'turbulent chiefs' and war-mongers, who took delight in oppressing the Kashmiris. Their activities compelled the king to take drastic steps against them. He expelled them from Kashmir and confiscated their estates in spite of the fact that their leader Saiyid Mirak Hasan Baihaqi[31] was his father-in-law.

Freed from internal and external threats Hasan Shah devoted his time and energy to implement constructive schemes. Both the king and the queen built palaces, khanqas, madrasas and mosques according to Srivara.[32]

Hasan Shah was a great lover of fine arts also. A skilled

28. *Tabaqat*, p. 607; Firishta, II, p. 348; *Camb. Ind.*, III, p. 285

29. Srivara places the date of this event immediately after the great fire of 1479. (Srivara, pp. 235)

30. *Ibid.*, p. 240; *Ain* (Jarrett), II, 389; *Tabaqat*, p. 607; Firishta, II, p. 348; *Camb. Ind.*, III, p. 285. Srivara's notice is worth recording here. He writes: 'Tazi Bhatta created some confusion in Tatar Khan's country by burning down some masjedas which the khan had built at Srigalakota.' Srigalakota, according to Persian chroniclers, is 'Sialkot', in West Punjab, 26 miles below Jammu (Tawi)

31. Srivara, p. 222; *Baharistan*, f.61b

32. Srivara, pp. 224-27

musician he composed excellent Sanskrit[33] and Kashmiri songs. He maintained a huge establishment of twelve hundred musicians[34] and dancing girls, and Srivara,[35] the chronicler, was director of the musical department.

But his senseless indulgence in costly pleasures, his building and cultural programmes and his war with Tatar Khan Lodi involved Hasan Shah in great financial difficulties which compelled him to debase the currency.[36]

III

RETURN OF THE SAIYIDS

The last years of Hasan Shah's reign brought misery to the country. The opening scene of the tragedy was the great fire of 1479,[37] when the north-eastern quarter of the city and the site now occupied by the Jama Masjid[38] area were burnt to ashes. The fire was followed by a ministerial crisis, a clash between the parties of Malik Ahmad Yatu and Malik Tazi Bhat, i.e. the prime minister and the commander-in-chief respectively. The dispute originated in their rivalry and jealousy. Malik Tazi Bhat's great victory over Tatar Khan Lodi in Sialkot had naturally enhanced his prestige at home. He became the king's most trusted minister. Immediately on his return he was appointed guardian of the heir-apparent, Prince Muhammad Khan, while Malik Nauroz, the son of the prime minister, was appointed guardian of the younger prince, Husain Khan.[39] Here the clash of interests between the two leaders started.

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 231, 234

34. *Ibid.*, pp. 230-33; *Baharistan*, f.58b

35. Srivara, p. 231.

36. Srivara writes: 'Owing to the exhausted state of the treasury the old copper *Pancavimsatika* was somewhat reduced (in weight).' (Srivara (text), III, 214; Srivara (trans.), p. 228)

37. Srivara, p. 235

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 235-37; Srivara gives a first-hand description of the devastations caused by the fire and an interesting history of the Jama Masjid rebuilt by Hasan Shah. This is corroborated by the extant inscription on the south gate of Jama Masjid

39. *Ibid.*, pp. 229, 241

In order to weaken Malik Tazi Bhat, Malik Ahmad Yatu took a step which was dangerous so far as national interests were concerned. He persuaded the king to recall the Saiyids from exile. The king was at this time passionately attached to Queen Hayat Khatun,[40] the daughter of Saiyid Mirak Hasan Baihaqi. To please her, he readily accepted the proposal, and the Saiyids were recalled.[41] The Saiyids had been expelled from the country in disgrace, and they returned with vengeance. The influence wielded by the queen over the mind of the king proved a great asset to them. Soon they put their Kashmiri benefactor Malik Ahmad Yatu into prison. Then they killed him along with his sons,[42] and compelled the king to appoint Saiyid Mirak Hasan Baihaqi,[43] his prime minister. During the Saiyid regime, according to Srivara, 'accepting bribes was considered a virtue, oppressing the subjects was regarded wisdom and addiction to women was reckoned happiness'.[44]

Such was the general condition of the country when Hasan Shah died, in April-May 1484,[45] after a reign of twelve

40. *Ibid.*, 229
41. *Ibid.*, pp. 241-42
42. *Ibid.*, p. 251
43. *Ibid.*, p. 250
44. *Ibid.*, p. 252
45. Srivara writes: 'In the year 4560 on the ninth day of the dark moon in the month of *Vaisaka*, the king went to heaven after a reign of 12 years and five days.' (*Ibid.*, p. 265; *Ain* (Jarrett), II, p. 379; *Baharistan*, f.61a). Col. Haig, on the other hand, fixes 1489 as the year of the death of Hasan Shah and of the first accession of his son, Muhammad Shah. (*JRAS*, 1918, p. 457; *Camb. Ind.*, III, p. 285). But Haig and his authorities' calculations are not supported by epigraphic evidence. There is an extant bilingual inscription on a tomb-stone in the Mazar-i-Bahauddin, outside the Bachi gate, of the Hari Parbat wall in Srinagar. The inscription is in Sanskrit (*Sarda* characters) as well as in Persian. The translation of the Sanskrit inscription is:

'On Samvat 60, the first *tithi* of the dark fortnight of *Sravana* on Friday — Saida Khana, son of Sratrana (Sultan) Ibrahim having . . . in the battle (fought) at the foot of Jyestharudra. . . in the reign of Muhammad Shah.'

The translation of the Persian inscription in Arabic characters is:

'In the year 889 Said Khan became a martyr (in the battle fought on the Takht-i-Sulaiman). May his end be good! Messenger! A son of

years and five days. He left behind two minor sons,[46] Muhammad Khan and Husain Khan. He was buried in the Mazar-i-Salatin, in Srinagar.[47]

IV

THE REIGN OF POLITICAL GANGSTERS (1484-1540)

Muhammad Shah—First Reign (1484-87)

While on his death-bed Hasan Shah had expressed a desire that he should be succeeded by his cousin, Fath Khan, the son of Adam Khan. Perhaps he thought that if he were succeeded by one of his two minor sons, it would perpetuate domination of the Saiyids and chaos in the country. He had a second cousin, the son of Bahram Khan. But he was still a prisoner, and his father had been tortured under orders of Hasan Shah himself.

Ibrahim Shah; he committed his life to God and attained heaven on the Friday!'

Dr. Hultzch, who had noticed this tomb-stone perhaps for the first time during his visit to Kashmir in 1885, refers to the date mentioned in it. (Hultzch, *ZDMG*, XL, 1886, p. 9). Some 23 years later Sir John Marshall studied it more thoroughly and left a detailed account of it. (Marshall, *Note on Archaeological Work in Kashmir*, 1908, pp. 17-18.)

From the above notices it is clear that the inscription was cut on the tomb of Said Khan, son of Ibrahim Shah, in the month of July-August 1484, in the reign of Muhammad Shah. It is further supported by the notice of Srivara. He states: 'Thus it happened that in the year 4560 on the first day of the moon in the month of *Sravana* there took place a destruction of life on account of their (Kashmiris) complete victory.' (Srivara, p. 301; (text), IV, p. 334)

About this Said Khan in the said inscription, the chronicler adds: 'On the side of the Saiyid army, Saiyid Hasan, Saiyid Khan and other brave warriors arrived that very morning of *Sravana* (45)(60).' (Srivara, p. 294). According to the inscription Said Khan was the son of Ibrahim Shah. We might plausibly identify this Said Khan with the son of Ibrahim Shah Sharqi, King of Jaunpur (1401-40). It is just possible that Said Khan had escaped and fled to Kashmir with other Saiyids on the annexation of Jaunpur by Bahlul Lodi in 1474. (See Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 320)

46. Srivara, p. 226

47. *Ibid.*, pp. 263-64

Fath Khan was a youthful prince. He was unaware of local politics because most of his life had been spent outside Kashmir. And Saiyid Mirak Hasan Baihaqi, who was supposed to honour Islamic traditions, dishonoured the last king's will. He placed on the throne Prince Muhammad Khan, who was his daughter's son and barely a lad of seven years, with the title of Sultan Muhammad Shah,[48] and himself acted as his regent.

Regencies have been a prolific source of civil disturbances in Kashmir, but the regency of Saiyid Mirak Hasan Baihaqi proved to be the worst. By his unscrupulous disregard for loyalty and word of honour, he, consciously or unconsciously, opened a new and a dark chapter in the Muslim politics of Kashmir. Following his example, the more ambitious, unscrupulous and disloyal Kashmiri leaders staged the drama of political gangsters for a period of 55 years (1484-1540), when chaos and confusion reigned supreme, when sultans became mere tools and the god-forsaken population shed their blood and tears.

Considering the past record of the relation of the Saiyids with the Kashmiris, their political domination led to discontent and opposition.[49] The crux of the situation was the open support of the cause of the Kashmiris by Raja Parsuram of Jammu.[50] He marched on Nowshahr (Srinagar), then the stronghold of the Saiyids, and put to death many Saiyids including Saiyid Mirak Hasan Baihaqi and his fourteen sons and nephews.[51] The Saiyids on their part murdered Bahram Khan's son, who was in prison, to preclude any possibility of his becoming the sultan.[52] The situation became critical for the Kashmiris when Tatar Khan Lodi[53] championed the

48. *Ibid.*, p. 267; *Tabaqat*, p. 608; Firishta, II, p. 349; *Camb. Ind.*, III, p. 235

49. Srivara, p. 268

50. *Ibid.*, p. 269; *Tabaqat*, p. 608; Firishta, II, 349. According to Nizam-ud-din and Firishta, the raja had taken shelter in Kashmir afraid of Tatar Khan Lodi

51. Srivara, pp. 271-72; *Baharistan*, 63a

52. Srivara, p. 275

53. Tatar Khan Lodi died in 910 A.H. (1504), and was succeeded by

cause of the Saiyids, and sent a large army for their support. But it was defeated at Bhimbar.[54] The defeat of the Lodis made the Saiyids desperate. They drew their forces to Takht-i-Sulaiman,[55] where the Kashmiris had collected to fight to the bitter end. They were utterly defeated and most of their leaders were killed. The Kashmiris also burnt down the Saiyid headquarters in Srinagar including the Khanqa Muala.[56] Finally they expelled them from Kashmir in June-July 1484.[57]

The defeat of the Saiyids brought to the forefront four Kashmiri leaders,[58] Jahangir Magre, Saif Dar, Idi Raina and Shams Chak. They signed an agreement to govern the country as joint-regents of the boy Sultan Muhammad Shah. But the quadruple alliance proved to be a short-lived arrangement. Logically it could not last long because the signatories did not mean to work together. Soon there was a scramble for the post of the prime minister. Each intrigued

his son, Daulat Khan Lodi, who held only Lahore. (*Tarikh-i-Daudi*, p. 128; *Babarnama* (Beveridge), II, p. 383)

54. Srivara, p. 289; *Tabaqat*, p. 609; Firishta, II, p. 349. The place where the Lodis were defeated is named by Srivara as 'Sastragalasthana'. Nizam-ud-din and Firishta mention it by the name of 'Bhimbar'. Bhimbar (Lat. 32° 58′, Long. 74° 8′) is a small town situated in the plains on the right-bank of the Bhimbar stream which flows into the Chinab near Wazirabad. Bhimbar is 29 miles north of Gujrat, 22 miles east of Jehlam and 60 miles north-west of Sialkot. It is the first point of departure from the plains of Kashmir, surrounded on three sides by low hills about 500 to 600 feet high while the south lies open. (Bates, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-49)

55. Srivara writes: 'The leaders of the army crossed the river from the Purana Takshika and reached the hill.' (Srivara, p. 292). Nizam-ud-din supports him. (*Tabaqat*, p. 609). This hill is obviously Takht-i-Sulaiman

56. Srivara, pp. 299 and 302

57. *Ibid.*, p. 301. Srivara writes: 'It happened in 4560 on the first day of the moon in the month of *Sravana*', *i.e.*, June-July 1484. In view of this evidence the date 892 A.H. (1486) mentioned by Nizam-ud-din and Firishta, and 893 by the author of *Baharistan* cannot be accepted. (*Tabaqat*, p. 609, Firishta, p. 349; *Baharistan*, f.63a)

58. While Nizam-ud-din and Firishta transcribe the names more or less correctly, European scholars do not. Haig mentions 'Jahangir Maku' for 'Jahangir Magre'. (*Camb. Ind.*, III, p. 285). Rodgers mentions Saif Dar (Dangar) as 'Saifa Wangri'. (*JASB*, 1885, p. 110)

to oust the other three. In the midst of confusion, Jahangir Magre[59] succeeded to declare himself the prime minister. But he failed to gain the confidence of the other leaders. In fact, he antagonised them and compelled them to conspire with Prince Fath Khan.

V

FATH SHAH—FIRST REIGN (1487-99)

Fath Khan was the son of Prince Adam Khan. After the death of Sultan Zain-ul-Abiden, his father having failed to seize the throne of Kashmir sought safety in self-imposed exile in Jammu. Here Fath Khan was born.

Fath Khan's early life had passed in unhappiness, anxiety and struggle. In his tender age he had lost his father who was killed while fighting against the troops of Tatar Khan Lodi, on behalf of the Raja of Jammu.[60] In this war Fath Khan had fallen into the hands of Tatar Khan, but had managed his escape soon after. He wandered about for four years, 1480-84, in Jullundur and West Punjab. At that time Jahangir Magre too had been living in Punch as a refugee from the tyranny of the Saiyids. Immediately he put himself into correspondence with Fath Khan with the intention of using him as his pawn at some favourable opportunity in future. In fact, he held out to him the prospect of becoming the sultan of Kashmir. So Fath Khan came to Rajauri, and stayed here with his father-in-law, Raja Sunder Sen.[61] Here he was approached by Saif Dar, Idi Raina and Shams Chak. They promised him their full support and

59. Srivara, pp. 302-10

60. *Ibid.*, p. 309. Nizam-ud-din and Firishta state that he was killed in the battle fought with the Mughals. (*Tabaqat*, p. 606, Firishta, p. 347). Srivara writes that Fath Khan subsequently fell into the hands of Tatar Khan Lodi, who had malicious designs against Jammu. In all likelihood, Adam Khan was killed in the war which was fought between Tatar Khan Lodi and the Raja of Jammu

61. Srivara, p. 309. According to Srivara the name of the Raja of Rajauri was Shringara Sinha. Vogel and Hutchison identify him with Sunder Sen (*Jour. Pun. Hist. Soc.*, 1925, Vol. IX, part II, p. 145)

encouraged him to attack Jahangir Magre. He entered the valley by the Tosamaidan pass and launched the attack in 1485[62] at Kalampur.[63] A heavy battle took place; but Fath Khan and his allies were defeated and he was compelled to run back to Rajauri for safety.

The event swelled the head of Jahangir Magre all the more. He behaved ruthlessly towards the Kashmiri supporters of Fath Khan; some were killed, some were looted, some were thrown into prison, and many fled the country. In short, he gave his rivals every cause for bloody vengeance. Once more they assembled their forces, now under the capable leadership of Saif Dar. Again they approached Fath Khan and prepared him for a second attack. Once more he accepted their offer and in 1487[64] drew up his troops at Damodar Udar[65] against Jahangir Magre, who met an ignominious defeat and left Kashmir in utter humiliation. The boy Sultan Muhammad Shah was dethroned after occupying the throne for two years and seven months,[66] and Saif Dar took him in his charge.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 319. Srivara mentions the *Laukika* year 4561 (1485)

63. Srivara mentions the place as Kalyanapura. (*Ibid.*, p. 319). 'Kalyanapura' is the modern Kalampur (Long. 75° 54', Lat. 33° 48'), situated at the foot-hills in the Sukru pargana, on the high road to Kashmir leading over the Pir Panjal pass. (Stein, *Anc. Geog.*, para 117; *Rajat*, II, p. 472)

64. Srivara, p. 331

65. *Ibid.* Srivara's Damodara Udara (Kr. Damdhar Udar) is a dry and barren plateau situated in the Nagam pargana about six miles to the south of village Vahathor, and about five miles from Barzalla. The entire plateau is at present occupied by the Srinagar Aerodrome, which purpose it serves admirably

66. *Ibid.*, p. 334. Abul Fazl correctly counts 'two years and seven months' of Muhammad Shah's reign. Col. Jarrett wrongly counts ten years. (*Ain* (Jarrett), II, p. 379). Nizam-ud-din and Firishta count 'ten years and seven months' (*Tabaqat*, p. 610; Firishta, p. 349). Apparently *'Dah Sal'* is the copyist's error for *'Du Sal'*, since *'Dah'* and *'Du'* in Persian characters are variants. Still Col. Haig asserts: 'We may presume that ten years and seven months is a clerical error for ten months and seven days.' (Haig, *Muhammadan Sultans of Kashmir*, *JRAS*, 1918, p. 457). Kashmiri Persian chroniclers also count two years and seven months as the duration of the Muhammad Shah's first reign. (*Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 36; *Tarikh-i-Azam* (Ms), p. 63; *Tarikh-i-Hasan* (Ms), p. 337)

Ministry of Saif Dar (1487-96)

Once on the throne, Fath Shah appointed Malik Saif Dar, who had played a prominent role in overthrowing Jahangir Magre, his prime minister. The choice was a happy one in as much as Saif Dar was a devoted, conscientious worker and a lover of justice. During his regime the country had tranquillity after several years. To quote Srivara, 'the subjects were happy in every way during his administration. They were given to pious acts and displayed the virtues of kindness and simplicity.'[67] But Kashmir was not destined to enjoy a long spell of peace. Ere long the nemesis had started working against Saif Dar, to start with, in the person of Shams Chak, who was a very redoubtable and unscrupulous Chak leader. He was anxious to seize the government. His enthusiasm was amply sustained by Sultan Fath Shah. A puppet in the hands of Saif Dar, Fath Shah determined to throw off his yoke. He took Shams Chak, Nusrat Chak and Sarhang Raina into his confidence, and a plot was made to kill Saif Dar. The bridges on the Jehlam were torn up. Then Ṣaif Dar was drawn into an ambuscade and killed in 1496.[68]

Ministry of Shams Chak (1496-99)

On the death of Saif Dar, Fath Shah appointed Shams Chak[69] prime minister. He was the bravest of the brave, a man of singular personal strength. But the choice proved to be unfortunate. The sultan and the prime minister had their great antagonist in Saiyid Muhammad Baihaqi. As maternal uncle of the deposed king, Muhammad Shah, the Saiyid was keen to restore him to the throne. Secondly, Shams Chak had started his public career under the Saiyid, but later on had deserted him. To score a double victory over the sultan and the prime minister, Saiyid Muhammad Baihaqi duped Ibrahim Magre and Musa Raina, two

67. Srivara, p. 338
68. *Baharistan*, f.68a
69. *Ibid.*

important members in the ministry of Shams Chak. He deceived them by promising that all he aimed at was to overthrow the prime minister. With their assistance he succeeded to force a war upon Shams Chak, who was defeated in 1499 at Zaldragar,[70] and fled the country for safety. Saiyid Muhammad Baihaqi found himself without a rival when Fath Shah too fled for safety to Naoshera,[71] where he joined Shams Chak.

Muhammad Shah—Second Reign (1499-1505)

Ministry of Saiyid Muhammad Baihaqi. For the second time Muhammad Shah ascended the throne with the support of Saiyid Muhammad Baihaqi. It meant the restoration of the Saiyid regime which the Kashmiris dreaded most. It also meant the restoration of their anti-Kashmiri designs and their turbulent conduct. The subtle way in which Saiyid Muhammad Baihaqi had manipulated the change of the ministry estranged him from his non-Saiyid colleagues. The Kashmiris, who had already in 1484 paid very dearly to rid themselves of the turbulent Saiyids, could not tolerate their restoration, worse still their government. To indicate their non-confidence in the government of the Saiyids, Musa Raina and Ibrahim Magre, who were the two most powerful non-Saiyid colleagues of Saiyid Muhammad Baihaqi, resigned from his ministry. They joined the opposition led by the ex-prime minister Shams Chak and thrust a war upon the Saiyids in 1505.[72] The Saiyids, owing to their numerical inferiority, stood at a great disadvantage. They failed to come to terms with the Kashmiris, and war was the only alternative. They were totally defeated, and

70. *Ibid.*, ff.68a-70a; *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 37; Suka, p. 352. Zaldragar (anct. Jaladragada) is a large island plot in West Srinagar formed by the bifurcation of the Kuta Kul stream (anct. Ksiptika) at the Ziarat of Syed Mansur Sahib. At present it is densely inhabited area. In the past it was the scene of many sanguinary civil wars, being a natural line of defence for the left side of river Jehlam in Srinagar

71. *Baharistan*, f.71a

72. *Ibid.*, f.75a

Saiyid Muhammad Baihaqi and many of his followers were killed. Muhammad Shah escaped to Rajauri and Fath Shah was proclaimed sultan for the second time.

Fath Shah—Second Reign (1505-16)

Ministry of Shams Chak. With the restoration of Fath Shah, Shams Chak returned as his prime minister. It appears that both had learnt much but forgotten little during their adversity and exile into which they had been thrown by Saiyid Muhammad Baihaqi. Not feeling satisfied with the death of Saiyid Muhammad Baihaqi, Shams Chak became more drastic in his vengeance. He levelled to the ground all his buildings and establishments. Then his three[73] sons, Saiyid Murtaza, Saiyid Ibrahim and Saiyid Yakub, were treated ruthlessly. Saiyid Murtaza was rolled down a hillock while fleeing for safety to Ladakh. So he died. Saiyid Ibrahim remained a captive for two-and-a-half years with the Raja of Ladakh. Saiyid Yakub, the youngest, being a minor, was allowed to live peacefully in Srinagar. Still Shams Chak's vengeance did not cool. He included the entire community of the Dangars (Dars) in his scheme of persecution for their political affiliation with the Saiyids.

And Shams Chak went too far. He was neither supported by the sultan nor his own colleagues, Musa Raina and Ibrahim Magre. His cruelties soon recoiled on him. To give him a short shrift they put him into prison, where Bahram Dar and others who were in the pay of Musa Raina, killed him in 1505.[74] Shams Chak died heroically. Before he was disposed of in the cell he had despatched to death three of his assailants, although he had nothing more than a knife and some brickbats to defend him. The sultan then appointed Musa Raina his prime minister.

73. *Ibid.*, ff.77a-77b

74. He was killed in *Laukika* 4581 (1505). The author of the *Baharistan* mentions 907 A.H. which appears to be a clerical error since he and other Kashmiri Muslim chroniclers mention the Kashmiri year 45(81) as the date of his death. (*Baharistan*, f.77b, *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, pp. 201-2)

VI

MOVEMENT OF MIR SHAMS-UD-DIN IRAQI (1505-26)

Ministry of Musa Raina[75] (1505-14)

The ministry of Musa Raina, followed by that of Kachi Chak, was rendered one of the most important episodes during the later group of the independent sultans of Kashmir, by the activities of Mir Shams-ud-din Iraqi,[76] who was destined to create a revolution in the social and cultural life of the Kashmiris. He laid the germs of implacable and lasting hostility among the Muslims of Kashmir. From this time the Sunnis and Shias began to distinguish themselves openly as two different sects and continued to remain at loggerheads. They continued to behave like two uncompromising brothers, fighting among themselves like cats and dogs whenever an occasion arose until 1872, when Maharaja Ranbir Singh, the second Dogra ruler of Kashmir, was able to effect rapprochement between them. Yet in their heart of hearts the old sores remained unhealed.

Mir Shams-ud-din Iraqi was a disciple of Saiyid Shah Qasim Anwar, the son and successor (*khalifa*) of Saiyid Muhammad Nurbakhsh. He came to Kashmir for the first time in 1484, as ambassador of Sultan Husain Mirza, the governor of Khurasan (1474-1506). But his real purpose appears to have been that of a missionary, to promulgate the Nurbakhshiya doctrines in Kashmir.

The Nurbakhshiya order was founded by Saiyid Muhammad Nurbakhsh.[77] He was born in Kain, in Kohistan, in 1392

75. With the appointment of Musa Raina as prime minister, once more we find ourselves on the *terra firma* of history. Pandit Suka begins his chronicle with the reign of Fath Shah, and pays special attention to Mir Shams-ud-din Iraqi. He mentions Musa Raina as Musa Chandra also. The author of the *Baharistan* mentions him simply as Musa Raina. (Suka, p. 339; *Baharistan*, f.78b)

76. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), pp. 435, 522; Suka, p. 339; Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 284

77. Nur Ullah Shustri, *Majalis-al-Muminin*, pp. 313-15, Safi, *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, February 1925, pp. 4-6; Margoliouth, *Ency. Islam*, p. 961

He became a disciple of Khawaja Ishaq of Khuttilan who was himself a disciple of Saiyid Ali Hamadani, the 'Shah-i-Hamadan' of the Kashmiris. He was called *'Nurbakhsh'* (light-gift) in obedience to a dream of his *pir,* who also conferred on him the last *khirqa* (garment) of Saiyid Ali Hamadani, as a token of felicity. Then he received the title of *Mehdi* (Lord of the age) and styled himself *'imam'* (leader in religious matters) and *khalifa* (successor) over all the Muslims, claiming also mastery of all sciences, religious and secular. For all these pretensions which were forced upon him by Khwaja Ishaq who was too intrepid to challenge the political authority of the Timurids, Saiyid Muhammad Nurbakhsh was destined to a life of persecution and tribulation at the hands of the Timurid Shah Rukh Mirza (1404-46). At the death of Shah Rukh, however, he settled in Raiy, where he died at the age of 73, in 1465, after proclaiming that his son, Shah Qasim Anwar, would be his successor (*khalifa*), and Shams-ud-din Muhammad *bin* Yahiya-al-Lahjani-al-Gilani would promulgate his doctrines.[78]

Nurbakhshiya Doctrines

Saiyid Muhammad Nurbakhsh proclaimed that he was the promised *Mehdi,* or Lord of the age. In his writings he insisted on the importance of the individual and on Sufi pantheism.[79] His preceptor Khwaja Ishaq was a follower of the Shia doctrines, and wrote some odes (*ghazals*) in praise of Hazrat Ali.[80] He also wrote a treatise on law in Arabic which he called *Fikh-i-Ahwat*[81] (comprehensive law). It

78. *Majalis-al-Muminin*, p. 315; *Ency. Islam*, p. 962; *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, *Ibid.*, p. 9

79. *Ency. Islam*, p. 962

80. *Majalis-al-Muminin*, p. 315; Shafi, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6

81. *Ency. of Islam*, p. 962. According to Mirza Haidar Dughlat *Fikh-i-Ahwat* was written by Shams-ud-din Iraqi for his Kashmiri followers. (*Tarikh-i-Rashidi, op. cit.*, p. 435); Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo Kush*, p. 25; Vigne, *Travels*, ii, pp. 251 ff. Azam supports this view. (*Tarikh-i-Azami* (Ms.), p. 65)

propounds the Shia tenets,[82] laying special stress on the *imam*, who in addition to possessing numerous virtues must be a descendant of Hazrat Ali and Fatima, and legalises the *muta* (temporary marriage).

According to Mirza Haidar Dughlat, the Nurbakhshiya doctrines were differently practised in Badakhshan and Kashmir. The Nurbakhshis of Badakhshan, he writes, outwardly followed the precepts of Prophet Muhammad and held with the Sunnis. On the other hand, the Nurbakhshiya doctrines, as introduced in Kashmir by Shams-ud-din Iraqi, were, according to him, a corrupt form of religion and a collection of impious practices and infidel beliefs.[83] Of *Fikh-i-Ahwat*, which appears to have been in use in Kashmir in the time of Mirza Haidar Dughlat, he writes: 'It does not conform to the teachings of any of the sects, whether Sunni or Shia.' 'Those who conform to its doctrines', adds the Mirza, 'revile the companions of the Prophet and Aisha, as do the Shias, but, contrary to the teachings of the latter, they look upon Saiyid Muhammad Nurbakhsh as the lord of the age and the promised *Mehdi*.'[84]

Unfortunately, we do not come across any criticism of the Nurbakhshiya creed by Abul Fazl or Nizam-ud-din. All that they mention is that it was promulgated in Kashmir by Shams-ud-din Iraqi, a disciple of Shah Qasim, in the reign of Fath Shah.[85]

The followers of the Nurbakhshiya creed existed in Kashmir in the reign of Jahangir.[86] The author of the *Dabistan-al-Mazahab*,[87] who visited Kashmir frequently during the reign of Shahjahan, only reproduces certain quotations

82. *Ibid.* I have failed to trace a copy of the *Fikh-i-Ahwat* in Srinagar, although the Kashmiri Shias are familiar with it and mention it among their sacred books

83. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi, op. cit.*, p. 435

84. *Ibid.*

85. *Ain* (Jarrett), ii, p. 389; *Tabaqat*, p. 610; Firishta, p. 350

86. *Tuzuk* (R&B), ii, p. 149. Beveridge wrongly mentions them as followers of Shaikh Nur-ud-din Rishi

87. *Dabistan* (Shea and Troyer), II, p. 24n; I, pp. 263, 277-78

of Saiyid Muhammad Nurbakhsh which are metaphysical in character and substance.

We have no evidence to support that Nurbakhshiyas existed in Kashmir after the seventeenth century. After the ruthless extirpation of the Chaks, who were the chief adherents of this creed by Mughal governors of Kashmir in the reign of Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan, those Nurbakhshiyas who had survived the atrocities of Mirza Haidar Dughlat had, in all likelihood, mixed with the Shias. And those who did not abjure their faith fled for safety to Baltistan, which became a centre of the Nurbakhshiya creed. Vigne,[88] who toured through Baltistan and the whole of western Tibet and the Kashmir valley, has left an account of the Nurbakhshiyas. Drew,[89] who was the first British wazir-i-wazarat of Ladakh (1860-65), on behalf of Maharaja Ranbir Singh of Kashmir, writes of the Nurbakhshiyas, more or less, in the same strain. But he acquaints us with the inherent differences that distinguished them from the Sunnis and Shias. As political agent in Gilgit in 1880, Major Biddulph[90] appears to have made a comprehensive study of

88. Vigne writes that the ancestors of the Raja of Baltistan were 'not Shias, as are the Little Tibetans, but were heretics from either the Sunni or the Shia persuasion, following the doctrines of a Syud who came from Kashmir and wrote a book containing his own ideas of the faith. In common with the Shias he does not respect the three first caliphs, but venerates the memory of Aisha, the daughter of Abu-Bakr, and Hafiza, the daughter of Osman, who were both wives of the Prophet.' (Vigne, *Travels*, ii, p. 254)

89. Frederick Drew writes: 'It is a curious thing that the Baltis belong mostly to the Shia sect of Muhammadans.... A number of Baltis call themselves "Nur Bakhsh", which name implies a slight difference from ordinary Shias. This consists in the mode or order of prayer; Nur Bakhshis follow one who stands in front, which, apparently, the other Shias do not; but in great matters of difference between the Sunnis and the Shias, the Nur Bakhshis are with the latter.' (Drew, *op. cit.*, p. 359)

90. Major Biddulph writes: 'The Noor Bakhshi sect is peculiar to Baltistan where it numbers over twenty thousand followers, most of them are to be found in Shigar and Khoplu... A certain Syed Muhammad Noor Bakhsh, a native of Samarqand, resided for some time in Baltistan on his way to Hindustan. He was succeeded by Syed Shams-ud-din Iraqi, the disciple of Shah Qasim Faiz Bakhsh, who was the son of Syed Muham-

the social conditions of the people inhabiting the Gilgit region. He has left a detailed account of the followers of the Nurbakhshiya creed which elaborates Mirza Haidar Dughlat's description.

VII

MIR SHAMS-UD-DIN IRAQI IN KASHMIR

First Phase

Having spread their creed in Khurasan, Khuttilan and the neighbouring regions, the Nurbakhshiyas decided to promulgate it in Kashmir also. Kashmir, as we have mentioned already, had of late become a refuge of political and religious fugitives from Persia, Khurasan, Iraq, Samarqand, Bukhara and, in fact, almost all the flourishing states in Central and Western Asia, from the repercussions of the Timurids as well as severe economic strains and stresses of the times. The first convoy of these refugees had been led into the valley by Saiyid Ali Hamadani. The Saiyid was highly revered by the Nurbakhshiyas as well as by the Muslims of Kashmir. Encouraged by this background, Shams-ud-din Iraqi came to Kashmir (1484) in the reign of Sultan Hasan Shah (1474-84). He came from Khurasan as envoy of Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara (1474-1506) who was then under the influence of Shah Qasim Anwar, the son and *khalifa* of Saiyid Muhammad Nurbakhsh.[91]

mad Noor Bakhsh, and he tried to convert the Baltis to Shia tenets. He planned to gain his object by fraud... *Fikh-i-Ahwat*, the book in Arabic, is a strange medley. In winter the Noor Bakhshis pray with folded arms like the Soonies; in summer with folded hands hanging down like the Shias. Like the Soonies they pray together and observe Friday Prayers, but they do not wash their feet before praying but only perform the 'masak' like the Shias. In doctrine they gave the first place to the Prophet and the second to Ali; but they observe Muharram mourning. From the Muharram observances arises one of the chief causes of quarrel with the Shias. The Noor Bakhshiyas maintain that the mourning should take place in the Masjids which the Shias do not allow to be proper and occasional disturbances are the result.' (Biddulph, *Tribes of Hindoo Kush*, p. 124)

91. Nur Ullah Shustri, *op. cit.*, pp. 315-16; Margoliouth, *op. cit.*, p. 962

Soon after his arrival in Kashmir, however, Sultan Hasan Shah died. The time was propitious for an adventurous and zealous missionary like Shams-ud-din Iraqi. Consequent on the wranglings between the chief political leaders, the country had waded through chaos and a series of bloody civil wars. To exploit the situation, Shams-ud-din prolonged his stay in the valley. As an envoy he could not take part in religious discussions or preach his creed openly. Therefore, he associated himself with Shaikh Ismail Kubrawi,[92] who was then an influential and zealous missionary of Islam in Kashmir. He acted as Iraqi's protector. From his platform, Shams-ud-din Iraqi, to start with, propagated his creed among his disciples, and insidiously brought trouble on his patron. He created a division among his followers by boosting up Baba Ali Najar,[93] another influential but idiotic Kashmiri leader, because he served Iraqi's interests admirably. The Baba became his *khalifa* in Kashmir. Having set the ball of discord rolling among the Muslims of Kashmir, Shams-ud-din Iraqi left the country.

Second Phase

Shams-ud-din Iraqi returned to Kashmir for the second time during the restoration of Fath Shah[94] (1505-16), and made it his permanent abode. It is stated that he had left Khurasan as a result of his dismissal by Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara. More probably, it was due to the enforced

92. Muhammad Azam writes: (English translation)

'It should be known that the most spectacular event of the prime ministership of Musa Raina under the regime of Fath Shah was the arrival of Mir Shams Iraqi who had previously come as an envoy and settled here. Since during these days the Sufis led by Shaikh Ismail Kubrawi conducted themselves hypocritically, and iconoclasm was the order of the day—he (Mir Shams Iraqi) got himself enlisted among the disciples of Shaikh Ismail Kubrawi, but followed Baba Ali Najar whom he seduced. And Baba Ali Najar who was a damned idiot came under the influence of his intellectual and spiritual powers for whatever they were.' (*Tarikh-i-Azam*, p. 63)

93. *Ibid.*, Nur Ullah Shustri, *op. cit.*, p. 52

94. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, op. cit., pp. 434-35; *Ain* (Jarrett), ii, 389; Suka (Dutt), p. 339

return of his preceptor, Shah Qasim, from Khurasan to Iraq.[95]

During his first visit to Kashmir Shams-ud-din Iraqi had made a number of faithful disciples. Through them, it appears, he kept himself in touch with the developments in the country, till he found the conditions favourable. Baba Ali Najar, whom he had previously pitted against Shaikh Ismail Kubrawi, was now an influential religious leader commanding a large following, while his chief adherent, Musa Raina, was prime minister. Immediately on his return Shams-ud-din Iraqi proclaimed himself the representative of Saiyid Muhammad Nurbakhsh although, in fact, he was only a disciple of his son Shah Qasim.[96] Soon he ingratiated himself with Musa Raina and started a crusade against the Hindus. Their temples were levelled with the ground and mosques were erected on their sites. Twenty-four thousand Hindu families were converted to Islam with one stroke.[97] Suka, the contemporary chronicler, writes: 'Meera Shams (meaning Mir Shams-ud-din Iraqi) became Musa Chandra's (Musa Raina's) *guru* without giving him religious instructions. According to his advice Musa Chandra arrested men belonging to temples and confiscated lands of the Brahmans.'[98]

95. *Nafais-al-Umara*: quoted by Shafi, *op. cit.*, 1929 (August), pp. 7-9
96. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, *op. cit.*, p. 435
97. *Baharistan*, ff. 78a, 79a; *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 39; *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, p. 347

It may be worthwhile to quote the author of the *Baharistan-i-Shahi* who states: (English Translation)

'For about nine years Musa Raina held the reins of government. During these nine years by the blessings of Shaikh Muhammad Iraqi (Mir Shams-ud-din Iraqi), Islam made greatest progress, and the temples which had been destroyed in the reign of Sultan Sikandar, the iconoclast, but Sultan Zain-ul-Abiden had repaired and renovated and had encouraged the infidels (Hindus) and their religion to flourish, Mir Shams-ud-din Iraqi occupied himself to destroy them (once more), with the help of Musa Raina. And all traces of infidelity and idol worship were replaced by Islamic symbols; and the infidels and holy-thread wearers (Brahmans) of Kashmir were converted into Islam and awarded sumptuously, so much so, that Mir Shams-ud-din Iraqi with the help of Musa Raina was able to convert 24,000 Brahman families to Islam'

98. Suka, p. 339

Thereupon, four leaders of opposition—Ibrahim Magre, Jahangir Padru, Osman Dar and Kachi Chak—who had been on the look-out for an opportunity to overthrow Musa Raina, made capital of his anti-Hindu policy. They denigrated him, maligned him, and humbugged the people into belief that he was the villain of the piece. Then they forced a war on him at Zaldragar in 1513.[99] He was defeated and died having fallen from his horse while fleeing for safety.

But the victors proved worse that the vanquished. In fact, they were hypocrites and guileful, and they wasted two years scrambling for leadership, and altogether forgot their duty to govern the state. But Kachi Chak's role, as we shall see subsequently, proved to be the worst.

While the Muslim leaders were quarrelling among themselves Pandit Kantha Bhat,[100] a very sincere, daring, but grossly indiscreet Hindu leader, shot himself into prominence as a sort of Shriya Bhat, the famous minister of Sultan Zain-ul-Abiden. He undid the achievements of Shams-ud-din Iraqi during two years when the Muslim leaders were preoccupied with their problems. He reconverted most of the Hindus who had been forced to embrace Islam under pressure of Shams-ud-din Iraqi during the preceding eight years (1506-14). But his calculations proved to be dangerous considering the trend of times. Taking into consideration

99. *Baharistan*, f.81a

100. Suka, p. 353; *Baharistan*, ff. 88b-89b. It is worthwhile to quote Suka who writes: 'In times gone by Shriya (meaning Shriya Bhat), the lord chief Justice of Sultan Zain-ul-Abiden, had planted the creeper of his karma. On the approach of winter it was watered by the good Brahman Nirmala Kantha (*alias* Kanthabhatta). Then at the time of the mleccha oppression (caused by Shams-ud-din Iraqi) this Kanthabhatta and others held a council and he was able to avert the disgrace which such oppression begot. Khwaja Mir Muhammada (meaning Mir Shams-ud-din Iraqi), on the other hand, by devoting his life to the service of Kachi Chak, and by giving him wealth, induced him who was alarmed at the work of Nirmala Kantha and others, to give him permission to act against them; and actuated by the mleccha caused them to be murdered. The oppression of the Mausulmas (Muslims) which began in the time of the Saiyids was made prominent by Musa Chandra and perfected by Kachi Chak... This was done in the month of Sravana in the year 94.' (July-August 1518)

the present status and strength of Islam, Kantha Bhat's movement compares to the frolicsomeness of urchins who take a perilous joy at casting toy darts at an elephant. So his preposterous adventure led to the extirpation of the entire Hindu community.

Muhammad Shah: Third Reign (1516-28)

Meanwhile the fugitive Sultan Muhammad Shah succeeded in securing help from Sultan Sikandar Lodi[101] of Delhi (1488-1517) to regain his throne. Kachi Chak who had fallen out with his colleagues also gave him ample encouragement. Muhammad Shah invaded Kashmir at the head of a large army and compelled Sultan Fath Shah to surrender. He proclaimed himself sultan of Kashmir for the third time in 1516[102] and appointed Kachi Chak his prime minister.

As soon as Kachi Chak assumed the reins of government Shams-ud-din Iraqi, who had gained a magical hold over him, once more came into prominence. The *shuddhi* of the newly-converted Hindus so vigorously pushed on by Pandit Kantha Bhat, in fact, the entire Hindu milieu that prevailed in the country, was condemned by him. And he advised Kachi Chak to extirpate Hinduism, once for all. Accordingly, in 1518, some eight hundred Hindu leaders were gruesomely massacred; and fear of death compelled their followers to walk into the Muslim fold like dumb driven cattle.

The author of the *Baharistan-i-Shahi* has left a comprehensive record of this diabolical proceeding. He does not exaggerate matters, but he only gives Muslim version of the happening. He writes: 'The great task that Kachi Chak performed at the bidding of Mir Shams-ud-din Muhammad Iraqi was the massacre of the idolaters. It happened thus: during his government Musa Raina had converted most of the Hindus to Islam. Subsequently many of them had abjured the faith under the influence of their leaders and once

101. Suka, p. 349; *Baharistan*, f.86a; *Tabaqat*, p. 611; Firishta, 351
102. *Ibid*. Suka mentions the *Laukika* year 4592 (1516)—Suka, p. 350

more continued to worship Hindu idols; some concealed them behind the Holy Quran. Viewing this, Shams-ud-din Iraqi sent for Kachi Chak and argued with him that the people who had once embraced Islam could not thereafter continue to behave as Hindus, and if they were not compelled to conduct themselves as true Muslims, he had better leave Kashmir. Accordingly, Kachi Chak got some eight hundred Hindu leaders massacred, in the month of *Asura*, in the year 924 A.H. (1518), which corresponds to 94 years of the Kashmiris; and the Hindus of Kashmir were converted to Islam by the sword.'[103]

When all is said and done, Shams-ud-din Iraqi or his leading Kashmiri followers did not achieve any lasting commendable credit by their vindictive, communal conduct. He stands guilty of converting a peaceful, amicable, secular-minded people into a zealous, war-pursuing community. Like Mirza Haidar later on the methods which he employed were too drastic to be of any use for national reconstruction or communal amity. In fact, Kashmir was no exception to the general communal and sectarian rancour current throughout Northern Indian at this time.

Shams-ud-din Iraqi: An Estimate

Shams-ud-din Iraqi died in Srinagar in 1526.[104] He was buried at Zadibal.[105] His mausoleum is held in great veneration by the Shias of Kashmir. Qazi Nur Ullah Shustri held the view that the Shia creed made tremendous progress under the missionary zeal of Shams-ud-din Iraqi.[106]

103. *Baharistan*, ff.88b-89b
104. Shafi, *Oriental College Magazine*, 1929 (Aug.), p. 14
105. *Majalis-al-Muminin*, p. 52; Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 284
106. Qazi Nur Ullah Shustri writes: (English translation)

'The author (Qazi Nur Ullah Shustri) failed to trace any book dealing with the religion of the Kashmiris. Notwithstanding, whatsoever, he (author) was able to collect after investigation is that most of the people here are Muslims. There are still many infidels (Hindus—Brahmans) among them. When Saiyid Ali Hamadani came and stayed here, some people embraced the Shia faith. Thereafter Mir Shams Iraqi... came to Kashmir and stayed here. When the reins of government were held by

The fact is that Shams-ud-din Iraqi introduced the Nurbakhshiya doctrines for the first time in Kashmir and simultaneously expanded the Shia creed. Nurbakhshiyas were found here in the reign of Jahangir.[107] But the creed does not seem to have achieved any considerable degree of importance or popularity in the valley although it triumphed in Baltistan. In Baltistan, too, it was introduced by Shams-ud-din Iraqi, and after him popularised by his two sons, Mir Mukhtar and Mir Yahiya, who were buried in Kiris.[108]

There is difference of opinion whether Shams-ud-din Iraqi introduced the Nurbakhshiya or the Shia doctrines in this country. According to Mirza Haidar Dughlat,[109] Shams-ud-din Iraqi introduced the Nurbakhshiya order. That is the opinion of Abul Fazl[110] also. According to Muhammad Azam[111] Shams-ud-din Iraqi promulgated the Shia creed with the assistance of Baba Ali (Najar) and also built his *khanqah* (prayer house) at Zadibal. That the Shias of Kashmir accepted him as the founder of Shiaism in Kashmir was the information gathered on the spot by Sir Walter Lawrence in 1895. He writes: 'The Shias chiefly reside in the Zadibal ward of Srinagar and in the Kamraz district though they are found in other places of the valley where their presence can always be discovered by the appearance of their graves which are level with the ground whereas the Sunni graves have raised mounds over them. The Shia system is said to have been introduced by Shams-ud-din Iraqi in 1450, but it has never, save during the short period of the Chaks, gained much hold on the valley. From the first Shams-ud-din Iraqi met opposition. He was buried at Zadibal, and his

the Chaks of Trahgam, they helped Mir Shams Iraqi, and the Shia creed made tremendous progress. Most of the soldiery here, especially those belonging to the Magre and Dangar tribes, are all Shias. . . Similarly, the descendants of Baba Ali (Najar) who was his (Mir Shams Iraqi's) successor, and his disciples are all Shias.' (*Majalis-al-Muminin*, p. 52)

107. *Tuzuk* (R&B), ii, p. 149
108. Biddulph, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26
109. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, (E&R), p. 435
110. *Ain* (Jarrett), ii, p. 389
111. *Tarikh-i-Azam*, p. 65

grave, which has several times been violated by the Sunnis, is held in great veneration by the Shias of Kashmir.[112]

That in all Shia-Sunni disputes and wranglings Shams-ud-din Iraqi's grave should have been violated by the Sunnis creates a presumption that if he did not actually introduce the Shia system in this country, he must have, as Qazi Nur Ullah Shustri states, helped to push it forward by securing converts to it. Taking into consideration his work as a zealous religious missionary, he claims almost the same place in the history of the growth and development of Islam in Kashmir as Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani and other zealous Muslim missionaries, who employed all possible pressure to secure converts from the Hindus.

Viewing the furore of communal frenzy manifested by Shams-ud-din Iraqi, and his thirst to expand Islam on the pyre of the Hindus, we should, looking at things objectively, do well to realise that the spirit that enthused him was the spirit of his times when communal harmony and national welfare and solidarity found no place in the general order of things.

VIII

INTRUSION OF PRETENDERS

Prince Sikandar Khan

Sultan Fath Shah died in 1519[113] at Naoshera. His son Sikandar Khan and his chief adherents, Abdal Magre, Lohar Magre, Idi Raina and Jahangir Padru, brought his dead body to Srinagar and buried it near the grave of his father Adam Khan at Sahyar, without any dispute or disturbance. The conditions encouraged them to occupy the Nagam fort where they proclaimed Sikandar Khan sultan in 1521.[114] It was a challenge to Kachi Chak but he was prepared for it. His

112. Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 284; *Census of India, Kashmir Report*, 1911, p. 105

113. Suka, p. 354

114. *Ibid.*, p. 355; *Baharistan*, f.89b

brave Chak troops compelled them to surrender. Soon they reassembled at Shadipur[115] in larger numbers, but were cordoned by Kachi Chak's troops and bitterly defeated. Sikandar Khan was compelled to quit Kashmir; without the pretender Abdal Magre's scheme ended in smoke.

Though triumphant Kachi Chak quickly realised that so long as the chief leaders of the Magre community, who were his political rivals, remained at large, it would be a constant source of recurrent internal disturbance and external danger. To avoid this nuisance he followed the policy of harmony and conciliation. To start with, he bound the Magres with the members of his own community by matrimonial[116] ties Then he raised them in public estimation by granting them jagirs and appointing them to responsible positions.

Even so Kashmir was not destined to enjoy a long spell of peace. Before long, the Chaks and the Magres fell out. This time it was Sultan Muhammad Shah who manifested ingratitude. He managed to widen their differences. Viewing the increased strength and solidarity among the Magres, he inclined more and more towards them. He made matters so difficult for Kachi Chak that he had to quit the country along with his chief followers. But even in exile he did not forsake Sultan Muhammad Shah, who was also his son-in-law. He gave ample proof of steadfast loyalty to him when he and his followers opposed a Mughal contingent at Lohkot, in 1525,[117] when it was marching on Kashmir to regain the throne for prince Sikandar Khan. The daring Chak leaders, Kachi Chak, Tazi Chak and Ghazi Khan, displayed considerable fighting skill when they defeated the Mughal invaders. Then they got hold of prince Sikandar Khan and made him a state prisoner.[118]

With Sikandar Khan as his captive, Kachi Chak appeared dangerous for Sultan Muhammad Shah. But the sultan

115. Suka, p. 356; *Baharistan*, f.90a

116. Suka, p. 359

117. *Ibid.*, p. 361; *Tabaqat*, p. 612; Firishta, p. 352; *Baharistan*, ff.91a, 91b. *Baharistan* alone gives the date of this event, *viz.* A.H. 930 (1525)

118. *Ibid.*

relieved himself of this anxiety in 1528[119] when he recalled Kachi Chak and acknowledged his loyal services by appointing him prime minister. By this diplomacy Muhammad Shah was able to get hold of his dangerous rival prince, Sikandar Khan. He rendered the prince permanently useless as a political opponent by gouging out his eyes.[120] Abdal Magre was left with the only option to quit Kashmir for safety.

Prince Nazuk Khan

Before long, however, Kachi Chak realised the folly of sacrificing his interests for the cunning and ungrateful Muhammad Shah. By placing Sikandar Khan at his mercy he realised that he had himself played into his hands and dreaded his doom. Therefore, like a dare-devil he dethroned Muhammad Shah after a reign of nearly twelve years and locked him up in Lohkot.[121] Then he placed his son, Ibrahim Khan, on the throne in 1528, with the title of Ibrahim Shah I.[122] In 1526 this Ibrahim had managed his escape from Delhi where his father had left him in 1516 as a hostage with Sultan Sikandar Khan Lodi who had assisted him to regain the throne of Kashmir.

Meanwhile, the fugitive Abdal Magre had succeeded in securing help from emperor Babar.[123] The emperor supplied him with a contingent of one thousand picked Mughals under three Mughal commanders, Shaikh Ali Beg, Mahmud Khan and Muhammad Khan. At their head Abdal Magre opened a campaign against Kashmir. He brought the younger pretender, Nazuk Khan, with him to assure the Kashmiris that he was fighting a national cause. The invaders made

119. *Ibid.; Baharistan*, f. 91b

120. Suka, p. 362; *Baharistan*, f. 91b

121. Suka, pp. 362-63; *Baharistan*, f.92a; *Tabaqat*, p. 612

122. Suka, p. 364; *Baharistan*, f. 92a. We possess numismatic evidence in support of the occupation of the throne of Kashmir by Ibrahim Shah, but the date on the coin is so worn out that it cannot be deciphered. (Rodgers, 'Silver Coins of Kashmir Sultans', *JASB*, p. 93, coin no. 16)

123. Suka, p. 364; *Ain* (Jarrett), ii, p. 389; *Tabaqat*, pp. 612-13; *Baharistan*, ff.92a-92b

their first halt in the valley at Tapar,[124] and immediately declared war on Kachi Chak, defeated him and forced him to quit Kashmir. Nazuk Khan was proclaimed sultan with the title of Nazuk Shah, in 1529.[125]

To establish peace among his lieutenants, Abdal Magre divided the valley into four parts, each of which he assigned to Ali Mir, Lohar Chak and Regi Chak, retaining the fourth for himself. Soon, however, he realised that neither the king nor the fair distribution of the country was any guarantee for a stable government; and he adopted the line of least resistance. He released Muhammad Shah from prison and restored him to the throne, for the fourth time, in 1530, and relegated the status of the heir-apparent[126] to Nazuk (Shah).

124. Suka, p. 364; *Baharistan*, f.94b. According to Suka, the battle was fought at Pratapapura. Dr. Stein identifies the place with the extant village Tapar which is situated about 4 miles to the north-west of Patan (Lat. 34° 10′, Long. 74° 46′), on the high-road to Baramulla

125. Suka, p. 367; *Ain* (Jarrett), ii, p. 389; *Tabaqat*, p. 613

126. Suka, p. 369; *Tabaqat*, p. 613; Firishta, p. 353; *Baharistan*, f.94b et. sqq. Nizam-ud-din and Firishta state that Nazuk Shah reigned for twenty years. But Suka's evidence is conclusive. He states: 'Najoka, after having reigned for one year, received from the king Muhammad Shah the post of the heir-apparent in the month of Jaistha (May-June) in 4606 (1530). At this time Mirza Vahbara (emperor Babar) went to heaven.' (Suka, pp. 368-69). Haig's conclusion is not based on facts. (*JRAS*, 1918, p. 459)

CHAPTER EIGHT

The Age of Mirza Haidar Dughlat

MUHAMMAD SHAH: FOURTH REIGN (1530-37)

Mughals on the Rampage

THE MUCH HARASSED 'KING DO-NOTHING' Muhammad Shah had on the fourth occasion occupied the throne hardly for a year and a half when the country was invaded by the troops of Mirza Kamran, the governor of the Punjab. In 1530 Humayun had ceded to Kamran the Punjab and the Indus frontier,[1] in addition to Kabul and Kandahar which were already in his possession. Now he looked greedily on Kashmir since Babar also coveted to possess the country.

Kamran got his opportunity when the Mughal generals Shaikh Ali Beg, Mahmud Khan and Muhammad Khan approached him with a scheme of conquest. As stated already, these Mughal generals had in 1529 been commissioned by Babar, to invade Kashmir for Abdal Magre. Having accomplished their job successfully, they left the country very reluctantly because they were fascinated by its natural beauty and felt that it could easily be occupied by the Mughals. So they persuaded Kamran to invade Kashmir assuring him that the conquest could be easily accomplished.[2] Acting on their advice, Kamran despatched a horse battalion under the command of Mahram Beg Kokah,[3] with Shaikh Ali Beg and his colleagues as guides. They occupied

1. *Ain* (Jarret), ii, p. 390 and note one; *Tabaqat*, p. 613

2. *Ain*, p. 389; *Tabaqat*, p. 614

3. *Ibid.* But Suka calls him 'Mahrama, the general of Kamran' (Suka (Dutt), p. 369)

Kashmir in October-November 1531,[4] without meeting any resistance anywhere. Yet they made a ruthless use of fire and sword. The tragedy was appalling! To quote Suka,[5] 'The mlecchas (the Mughals) entered the city with thousands of cavalry, and the Kashmiris placed their soldiers within forts. The citizens went out by different ways to the caverns of mountains in fear; and as the mleccha soldiers outnumbered the Kashmiri fighters, the latter were destroyed. The Mughals, who had plundered Kudvadina (Qutbuddinpur), found the beautiful capital empty, and in anger set fire to the houses and palaces. Then they killed thousands of people in villages, in the capital and the kingdom.'

But adversity makes strange bed fellows! Viewing their national calamity, Malik Kachi Chak and Abdal Magre forgot their jealousy and rivalry and combined their forces of resistance in such an order that they were able to give a tough fight to the Mughals. There was much bloodshed on either side. But the Kashmiris were able to inflict the first signal defeat[6] on the Mughals at Athwajan,[7] and compelled them to quit the country. The Mughals having disappeared, the chief Kashmiri leaders, Kachi Chak, Abdal Magre, Regi Chak and Ali Mir, formed a coalition government. They proclaimed Muhammad Shah sultan and Abdal Magre acted as the prime minister.[8]

Invasion of Kashgharis

The country had hardly two years' respite when a fresh danger threatened her. She was invaded by the army of

4. Suka writes: 'Mahram Beg occupied the country in the bright fortnight of the month of Kartika in the Laukika year 4607.' (Suka, *Ibid.*) He is supported by Haidar Malik and the author of *Baharistan*. (*Baharistan*, ff. 96a, 96b; *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 44). *Humayun Nama* does not mention this event.

5. Suka, pp. 369-70; *Ain* (Jarrett), ii, p. 390; *Tabaqat*, p. 614

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Baharistan*, f. 96b, 97a; *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 44

Athwajan is a hamlet situated at the southern base of the Takht-i-Sulaiman (Shankaracharya hill) on the right bank of the Jehlam river above Batawara octroi post, Srinagar

8. *Baharistan*, f. 97b

Sultan Said Khan[9] of Kashghar. It turned out to be worse than the massacre made by Kamran's soldiers.

Having completed the subjugation of Ladakh and Baltistan by the end of 1532, Sultan Said Khan, in order to keep his troops occupied during the winter[10] as well as to chastise the infidels, despatched Mirza Haidar Dughlat, the renowned author of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, and Prince Sikandar Khan, his second son, at the head of 4,000 horsemen[11] to conquer Kashmir. They were reinforced by many auxiliaries[12] supplied by the defeated chiefs of Ladakh and Baltistan, to serve as guides as well as porters, for which purpose they were eminently suited, during the long and arduous march from Ladakh to Kashmir.

The Kashghari army travelling by the familiar Ladakh-Kashmir highway entered Sonamarg after crossing the Zojila pass,[13] in January 1533.[14] They met with feeble resistance from the Kashmir troops stationed at Hang Satu, then a very narrow and dangerous defile. Although this pass had the greatest strategic importance for the entire valley, nevertheless, the Kashmir government had poorly garrisoned it in spite of the fact that they had previous information that Kashghari invaders were approaching. The Kashmir troops were simply stupefied, confused and ran helter-skelter when, only 400 picked Kashgharis sent in advance

9. For Sultan Said Khan (1514-33), see *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), pp. 130-38

10. *Ibid.*, p. 136. The Kashmiris were looked upon as infidels like the people of Ladakh and Baltistan. (*Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), Intro., p. 12)

11. *Ibid.*, p. 196

12. *Ibid.*, p. 423. Suka, Nizam-ud-din and Firishta, on the other hand, state that the number of the invaders was 12,000. (Suka, p. 370; *Tabaqat*, p. 614; Firishta, p. 353)

13. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), p. 423. Zojila pass (Lat. 34° 17′, Long. 75° 31′) is an important historical thoroughfare connecting Kashmir with Ladakh and thence with Tibet, China and Central Asia. It is 11,300 feet above the sea level. (Bates, *Gazetteer*, p. 406; Stein, *Anc. Geog.*, para 58)

14. Mirza Haidar Dughlat who led the expedition mentions the date, *Jamad-i-Sani* 939 *Hijri* (January 1533) (*Ibid.*). But Suka and Nizam-ud-din state that the invasion took place in autumn (Suka, p. 370; *Tabaqat*, p. 614), which cannot be accepted as they are secondary source of information

assaulted them at Hang Satu. The Kashgharis had easy victory at 'such a difficult place',[15] to quote Mirza Haidar Dughlat. However, history will ever condemn Kashmir troops for their pusillanimity and carelessness. Had they stood firm and resisted the invaders at Hang Satu like the brave three hundred Spartans at the pass of Thermopylae, they would have repulsed the Kashgharis and compelled them to retire disappointed and disgraced. But once they took fright and behaved like cowards, they brought lasting disgrace upon themselves and their country.

Flushed with their easily won victory at Hang Satu, the Kashgharis marched onwards triumphantly till they reached Nowshahr,[16] the first town of consequence in the valley. Here they halted for 24 days while their troops and horses shook off their fatigue.[17] Then they marched southwards driving everything before them. They behaved with ruthless barbarity. They plundered the people, burnt their houses, and carried away their women and children.[18] In sheer fright the Kashmiris 'forsaking their city and homes fled towards the hills and glens, leaving their property in their dwellings'.[19]

As soon as snow began to thaw, the Kashmiri leaders, Kachi Chak, Abdal Magre, Regi Chak, Lohar Magre and Ali Mir, who had been watching the movements of the Kashgharis from the eastern hill range, collected their troops

15. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), pp. 423-24, and note 3, p. 423. 'Hang Satu' was a very narrow path situated between two rocky spurs, about three miles above Gagangir and about 2 miles from the Sonamarg valley. Until a few years ago the passage through it was distinctly difficult and fraught with danger for an invading army especially when they were mounted on horses. (See Stein, *Anc. Geog.*, para 131)

16. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), p. 437. Nowshahr or as it was known even in 1533 as 'Rajdan' (or more correctly 'Rajdhani') was the capital of Sultan Zain-ul-Abiden

17. *Ibid.*

18. *Ibid.* According to Suka, 'Hundreds of houses were burnt and the city that had been populous before now became like the ground for burning dead.' (Suka, p. 371; *Baharistan* (Ms.), f. 98a; *Tabaqat*, p. 614; Firishta, ii, p. 353)

19. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), p. 437

and met them in a pitched battle at Bavan,[20] in Anantnag, on 28 February 1533. But they were defeated and many of them were killed including some of their commanders, particularly the gallant Ali Mir.[21] Still they persisted fighting with remarkable endurance and pluck.[22] They entrenched themselves in the neighbouring hilly terrain, and did not surrender. For the Kashghari horsemen it was dangerous to pursue them there since that would have meant their sure death and defeat. Thereupon the Kashghari commanders held a council of war. They decided to make a detour and assault Srinagar which would induce the Kashmiri leaders to descend from the mountain fastnesses, to save it. Accordingly the Kashgharis left Bavan early next morning. The Kashmiri troops chased them from the rear until the two armies confronted each other at Nagam,[23] a considerable village in the south, at a distance of eleven miles from Srinagar, on 1 March 1533.[24] Both sides fought valiantly. As Kashghari horsemen were more than a match for the Kashmiri foot-soldiers, the latter were again defeated. How-

20. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (Ms.), f. 329a; *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (trans. by Denison Ross), p. 438; Suka, p. 372; *Tabaqat*, p. 614; ii, p. 353; *Baharistan* (Ms.), f. 99a, f. 101a; *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik* (Ms.), p. 45; *Tarikh-i-Hasan* (Ms.), ii, p. 375

It appears necessary to mention here that 'Bagh-i-Navin' of Sir Denison Ross's manuscript of *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* should be read as 'Bagh-i-Bavan'. Bavan (Matan, Martand or Karewa Matan of Kashmir chronicles) is about 40 miles (i.e., ten *farsakhs* and not about *two farsakhs* as translated by Denison Ross; 'two' and 'ten' when written in Persian characters are variants) from Srinagar. Suka names the place as 'Bhimadevi' (correctly Bhima Keshva or Bumzu), and Nizam-ud-din and Firishta mention it as Khavorpur (Lat. 33° 56′, Long. 74° 41′). Bavan, Bumzu and Khavorpur are three extant villages situated in close proximity of each other in the Lidar valley, Anantnag district. It may be interesting to remember that all Kashmiri Muslim chroniclers mention the plateau of Martan (Matan) as 'Sahrai Babul'; see also *Rajatarangini* (Stein), II, pp. 464-6; Bates, *Gazetteer*, p. 233

21. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), p. 438; Mirza Haidar names him 'Malik Ali'

22. *Tabaqat*, p. 614; *Baharistan*, f. 101b; Haig, *Camb. Ind.*, iii, p. 287

23. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), p. 439

24. *Ibid.* Mirza Haidar mentions the date 4 Shaban 939 (1 March 1533)

ever, by their dare-devilry, endurance and unity, they soon succeeded in defeating the Kashgharis finally.

Mirza Haidar Dughlat wished to stay on in Kashmir and subdue the country completely. But his troops would not. They had been away fighting with him for ten years, and they yearned to return to their homes. Their feelings, during two and a half months[25] of association with the Kashmiris, had been strained. They regarded Kashmiris a 'besotted band of infidels', an undesirable people to associate with, perhaps, because they did not find them savage and blood-thirsty like themselves. The situation became very critical for Mirza Haidar when some of his commanders, led by Mir Ali Taghai, also turned against him. They envied his easy victories. They captured the hearts of the troops by preaching discontent and treachery against him. And once the troops confronted him with the following remonstrance,[26] Mirza Haidar was left with no choice but to quit Kashmir:

> 'We are Moghuls, and we have been continually occupied with the affairs of Moghulistan. The natural solace and joy of the Moghul *ulus* is the desert, in which there is no cultivation (*abadani*). The screeching of the owl in the wilderness is sweeter to our ears than the songs of the nightingale in the grove. We have never made a cultivated land our home. Our companions have been ravenous beasts of the mountains and our associates the wild boars of the desert. Our favourite haunts and our most agreeable dwellings have been the caves in the mountain tops; our clothing the skins of dogs and wild animals; our food the flesh of birds and wild beasts. How can men of our race associate with this besotted band of infidels of Kashmir, which is the garden of *Iram*, nay more, a specimen of paradise. . . Moreover, from Kashmir to Kashghar is a long journey and not only is the distance great, but the difficulties of the road are well

25. From the battle of Nagam (1 March 1533) until the Kashgharis finally quitted Kashmir on 15 May 1533, they had lived with the Kashmiris

26 *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), pp. 439-40

nigh insurmountable. There are our families, our baggage, and our flocks; here without flocks we must despair of our lives; separated from our herds we shall have to give up existence, and resign ourselves to death. Therefore, it is better than having ruined the army of Kashmir, we should return to the khan. If the khan kills us our bodies will at least be buried by our own people. If he does not kill us we will certainly never again draw our bridles towards any other place than Moghulistan.'

Under the circumstances, Mirza Haidar's scheme to reduce Kashmir completely ended in smoke. He felt convinced that he could no more remain in this country with safety. He decided to quit, and offered the following terms[27] of peace to the Kashmir leaders:

(1) To read the *Khutba* and to strike coins[28] in the name of Sultan Said Khan of Kashghar.
(2) To pay the Kashgharis the revenue due to them.
(3) To marry the daughter of Sultan Muhammad Shah of Kashmir to Prince Sikandar Khan, son of Sultan Said Khan of Kashghar; and

27. *Ibid.*, p. 441; Suka, p. 373; *Tabaqat* p, 615; Firishta, ii, p. 354. The terms of the peace are variously described by these authorities. But our most dependable authority is Mirza Haidar himself, who was the chief actor in this drama. Unfortunately, Mr. Jogesh Chandra Dutt does not give a correct translation of Suka's relevant Sanskrit verses. The correct translation is: 'The Mughals having brought before the king (Muhammad Shah) nine (pieces) of cloth (of the variety of) velvet, wool and *saglat* (scarlet cloth), which (they call) in their language "tohfa" (present); and having received the paper (treaty parchment) which was written in the Muslim script and stamped with the king's seal, they returned full of joy to their camps. They carried some men and women with them (as captives or slaves); but Hasan Mir out of pity got them released and brought back. Then in the year (46)09, in the month of Jaith, the Mughals returned to their country taking with them by force the wealth of the country and by treaty the daughter of the king of Kashmir.' (Suka (text, Calcutta Edition, 1835), *slokas* 340, et sqq; Suka (Dutt) p. 373)

28. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi, Ibid.* So far no coins to this effect have been traced. (Rodgers. 'Coins of the Sultans of Kashmir', *JASB*, 1879, 1885 and 1896)

(4) To release the prisoners of war, both men and women.[29]

The above terms having been ratified, the Kashgharis left Kashmir on 15 May 1533,[30] as they had come, by the Zojila-Ladakh route. Once more, Kashmir regained her independence.

Before we close this narrative it deserves to be noted here that the Kashghari invasion by the Ladakh-Zojila route should serve a warning to the people and rulers of Kashmir for all times. They should remember that their country is ever vulnerable from this direction. Kashmir falls an easy prey to an invasion from Central Asia, especially from the dominions of China—Tibet, Yarkand, Kashghar and Sinkiang—through the Ladakh-Zojila route. She is equally vulnerable to inroads from Russian Turkestan, Chinese Turkestan, Afghanistan and Pakistan through Gilgit, Hunza and the Eastern Tibetan regions (Dardistan and Baltistan) by the Gurez-Burzil route. She can be easily attacked from Kabul, Yagistan and West Pakistan through Kagan and Muzaffarabad by the Domel-Baramulla route. Unless these three strategically most important routes are very heavily guarded, as they used to be in ancient times, at their vulnerable points, lasting security to the valley from external dangers would be uncertain. And of the three routes, the Domel-Baramulla route is most formidable because it is the only route fit for all sorts of mechanised traffic all the year round. In anticipation of any enemy attack from this side it is most essential to render the Uri bulge militarily invulnerable.

Great Famine of 1534

The departure of the Kashgharis was followed by acute economic crisis mainly caused by the savage destruction

29. Mirza Haidar does not mention it, whereas the Kashmiri and other authorities do. (Suka, p. 373; *Tabaqat*, p. 614; Firishta, ii, p. 354)

30. Mirza Haidar mentions the date as last day of the month of Shawwal 939 (15 May 1533). *Tarikh-i-Rashidi, op. cit.*, p. 441. Suka mentions May 1533. (Suka, p. 373)

of men and the means of production by them. Still the farmers lost no effort and time to grow foodstuffs. But the season having far advanced the harvest failed. The result was the appalling famine of 1534.[31] The foodstuffs became so scarce that a *kharwar* of *shali* could not be procured even for ten thousand[32] *dinars*. There ensued huge mortality on the one hand and exodus of people on the other.[33] The situation remained unchanged for ten months.

Muhammad Shah's Death

The ensuing three years were a period of comparative peace and tranquillity. The people once more breathed freely, and applied themselves fully to rehabilitate themselves. It is equally gratifying that their top-most leaders, Kachi Chak and Abdal Magre, otherwise sworn enemies, lent their fullest cooperation to the task of national reconstruction. Amidst the returning prosperity, however, Sultan Muhammad Shah died in 1537,[34] at the age of 60, after having gained and lost the throne four times.[35] He was buried in the Mazar-i-Salatin.[36]

31. Suka, pp. 373-74; *Baharistan*, f. 102a

32. Suka, p. 373; *Baharistan, Ibid*. The price of a *kharwar* (khari), an ass-load of unhusked paddy weighing 178 lb., to have been 10,000 *dinars* might appear an exaggeration. But when we know that a sum of 1,000 *dinars* was equal to ten *dams* or ¼ of a rupee, 10,000 *dinars* meant only two-and-a-half rupees. Still the figure was frightful for Kashmiris according to the money value of those days. In the great famine of 1911 in Kashmir a *kharwar* of *shali* cost one-and-a-half rupees only

33. Suka, pp. 373-74; *Tabaqat*, p. 615; Firishta, ii, p. 354; Haig, *Camb. Ind.*, iii, p. 288

34. Suka, pp. 375-76; *Baharistan*, f. 102b. Col. Haig's date, 1534-35, is incorrect. (Haig, *JRAS*, 1918, pp. 460-61; *Camb. Ind.*, iii, p. 288)

35-36. The total period of the reign of Muhammad Shah and the period he occupied the throne for the last time have been variously calculated. According to Abul Fazl he reigned for 34 years, 8 months and 10 days (*Ain* (Jarrett), ii, p. 379). Nizam-ud-din and Firishta calculate 50 years (*Tabaqat*, p. 615, Firishta, ii, p. 354). The author of *Baharistan* mentions 51 years (*Baharistan*, f. 102b). Col. Haig calculated about 37 years (*JRAS*, 1918, p. 455 et eq). But Muhammad Shah sat on the throne for the first time in 1484 at the age of seven. If we even accept, for the sake of argument, the entire period, 1484-1538, to have been covered by his

II

MUHAMMAD SHAH'S SUCCESSORS (1537-40)

The death of Muhammad Shah once more disturbed the tranquillity of the state. The intriguing and perfidious leaders once more released their forces of disorder in order to put their rivals out of the way. The country relapsed into utter chaos and confusion due to the rapidity with which the throne passed from one king to another four times[37] within three years. In the first round, the Chaks emerged victorious. They placed Shams-ud-din II, the son of Muhammad Shah, on the throne in 1537. He was a mere figurehead, while his maternal grandfather, the veteran and astute Malik Kachi Chak, was the virtual ruler. He forced the Magre leaders to quit the country after defeating them at Sopur. Shams-ud-din II occupied the throne for hardly one year when he died and was succeeded by his brother, Ismail Shah I, in 1538. During his short reign of

reign alone, which is unwarranted by history, it comes to 54 years. The fact is that he occupied the throne on four different occasions during 1484 to 1538, for a total period of 29 years and one month. We are inclined to believe that Nizam-ud-din and Firishta, in calculating fifty years, appear to have been misled by five years wrongly copied in the narrative of Suka Pandita, the contemporary chronicler of the period. But Maulavi Hasan alone calculates the last period of Muhammad Shah's reign (eight years) correctly (*Tarikh-i-Hasan*, p. 376). For his burial in Mazar-i-Salatin, see Suka, p. 377

37. After the death of Muhammad Shah we lose the connection of chronology as well as geneology. Nizam-ud-din and Firishta mention the name of Shams-ud-din, son of Muhammad Shah, only (*Tabaqat*, p. 615; Firishta, ii, p. 354). Abul Fazl mentions two kings namely Shams, son of Muhammad Shah, and Ismail Shah, brother of Shams (*Ain* (Jarrett), ii, p. 379). Suka mentions Shams-ud-din only. But his narrative for the period 1538 to 1555 is exceedingly confusing and distorted (Suka, p. 376 et sqq). The author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* mentions only Shams-ud-din and his brother Ismail. Muhammad Azam and Maulavi Hasan mention three kings namely, Shams-ud-din, Ismail Shah and Ibrahim Shah, who succeeded Muhammad Shah one after the other (*Tarikh-i-Azam*, p. 67; *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, ii, p. 376-79). Both Azam and Hasan are supported by the coins of these kings. We possess silver and copper coins of both Ismail Shah and Ibrahim Shah. (*JASB*, 1879, p. 285, coins 9 and 10; *JASB*, 1885, pt. I, p. 98, coins 16 and 17)

one year and six months,[38] Kachi Chak continued to be the virtual dictator. He, however, made himself very unpopular with the Sunnis by forcing them to embrace the Shia-Nurbakhshiya creed; and it led to several uprisings against him.

Ismail Shah I died in 1540[39] and was succeeded by his son Ibrahim Shah II. Soon the Sunni leaders were able to compel Kachi Chak to quit Kashmir. He presented himself before Sher Shah Sur, the Afghan ruler of Delhi, for help. By this time Sher Shah had defeated emperor Humayun and had compelled him to quit Delhi. But Kachi Chak's schemes failed totally. Instead Kashmir was occupied by Mirza Haidar Dughlat, for the second time, in 1540, when he placed on the throne Nazuk Shah,[40] and himself acted as his regent. It appears worthwhile to narrate the past life of this valiant Mughal soldier of fortune, and the circumstances which led him to reoccupy Kashmir.

III

MIRZA HAIDAR DUGHLAT

Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat Gurgan[41]—that was his full name—was the son of Muhammad Husain

38. *Baharistan*, f. 102b; *Tarikh-i-Azam*, p. 67; *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, ii, p. 376. Abul Fazl allots Shams-ud-din only two months; Nizam-ud-din and Firishta are silent (*Ain* (Jarrett), ii, p. 379; Nizam-ud-din, p. 615; Firishta, ii, p. 354). Col. Haig allots Shams-ud-din seven years, placing his death in 1540 which is not correct. In fact, it was Ismail Shah I who died in 1540. (Haig, *Camb. Ind.*, iii, p. 288; *JRAS*, 1918, p. 461)

39. *Tarikh-i-Azam*, p. 67; *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, ii, pp. 378-79

40. He is mentioned as 'Nadir' or 'Nazuk' and as 'Companion' by Mirza Haidar (*Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), p. 434). On his coins his name occurs as 'Nadir'. But in the histories, his name is often mentioned as Nazuk Shah or Sultan Nazuk. We possess his silver and copper coins with the legend 'Nadir'. (Rodgers, 'Coins of the Sultans of Kashmir', *JASB*, 1899, p. 283; *JASB*, 1885, pt. I, p. 97)

41. Dughlat or Dukhlat is the name of an important Mongol tribe of Central Asia. The Dughlats are an important tribe in the modern Chinese Turkestan, where they ruled a wide kingdom and raised to the throne and deposed princes of the ruling house as they pleased. The founder of the

Gurgan. He was born in 1499-1500, at Tashqand, where his father was the governor. On the side of his mother he was the grandson of the Chaghatai Khan Yunus and the first cousin of Babar, his mother being the younger sister of the first Mughal emperor of India.[42] His early life was tossed in the midst of dangers and difficulties, strains and stresses. He was hardly nine years of age when his father, an intriguing and treacherous man, was murdered at Herat by the agents of Shahi Beg Khan, otherwise known as Shaibani Khan, whose murder he had plotted.[43] To save Mirza Haidar from a similar fate at the hands of his father's enemies, Maulana Muhammad, his father's *pir*, took him away to Kabul in 1509. Here Babar received him with considerable affection, and enlisted him in his household.[44] The next two years were stirring times for Babar. He waged two victorious wars against the Uzbegs, and at the death of Shaibani Khan in 1510, wrested back Bukhara and Samarqand. In these campaigns Mirza Haidar had also participated. Though too young to have fought himself, he must, nonetheless, have received impressions of active warfare which ultimately turned him into a soldier of fortune. But led away by youthful impatience, he abandoned Babar,[45] in 1512, and went over to his uncle Sultan Ahmad, the ruler of Kashghar and Mughalistan. That closed the first phase of his life.

Mirza Haidar then betook himself to Farghana. Here in 1514, he entered the service of Sultan Said Khan, the son of Sultan Ahmad. From him he received the title of 'Gurgan'[46], and accompanied him to Kashghar and Yarqand. From this time, until Sultan Said Khan's death in 1533,

house of Dughlat ruled the same territory and enjoyed the same privileges under Chaghatais or even under Chingiz Khan as his descendants at a later period. (*Ency. of Islam*, Vol. I, pp. 1079-80; *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), pp. 7, 156, 294)

42. Lane Poole, *Muhammadan Dynasties*, p. 242; *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), p. 209

43. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), p. 209

44. *Ibid.*, pp. 228-30

45. *Ibid.*, p. 268

46. *Encycl. Islam*, Vol. II, p. 219

Mirza Haidar served the khan in the capacity of a soldier.[47] During this period he led several campaigns in distant lands. In 1527, the hill country of Bolur,[48] comprising the states of Hunza, Gilgit, Chitral, and Yagistan, was plundered and overrun. In 1529-30, he led an expedition to Badakhshan. But of all the campaigns which the Mirza undertook to whet the religious zeal of his master, the conquest of Ladakh in 1531, Kashmir in 1532-33, Baltistan in 1533 and Tibet in 1538 are events of considerable importance in his career.

Sultan Said Khan died in 1533. He was succeeded by his son Abdul Rashid Khan. The new king was known for his enmity with the Dughlats. In fact, he had waded to the throne through the blood of his own relatives. The conditions compelled Mirza Haidar to escape from Rashid Khan's clutches. He came to Lahore in 1537, as a fugitive. Here he was received by Mirza Kamran, the governor of the Punjab, with great honour and dignity.[49]

Shortly after, Kamran was compelled to proceed to the relief of Kandahar which was being besieged by Sam. He remained away from the Punjab for about a year when he left Mirza Haidar in charge of government. Mirza Haidar collected taxes, suppressed revolts, protected the frontiers and established Islam.[50] At this time, the chiefs of Kashmir were also engaged in domestic squabbles. The overbearing conduct of Kachi Chak and his ruthless anti-Sunni policy had forced his political and religious rivals, Abdal Magre and Regi Chak, who were Sunnis, to seek refuge in the Punjab. Their acquaintance with Mirza Haidar since 1532, when he first conquered Kashmir, and awareness of his Sunni-proclivities suggested to them, in sheer desperation, to reestablish contact. They approached him for help to recover the country and rid her of the oppressive rule of

47. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), p. 269

48. For Bolur or Bolar, a hill country, see Elias's Introduction (p. 12) to the English translation of *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* by Sir Denison Ross

49. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), p. 467

50. *Ibid.*, pp. 468-69

Kachi Chak.[51] The negotiations between Abdal Magre and Regi Chak on the one hand, and Mirza Haidar on the other, were conducted by one Khwaja Haji. Mirza Haidar, who had very reluctantly abandoned Kashmir in 1533, entered into the project very warmly. And as soon as Kamran returned from Kandahar in 1538, the Mirzà succeeded in persuading him to accept the proposition which was already one of the items in his scheme of conquests. Kamran lost no time to avail of the opportunity. He sent Baba Chuchak,[52] one of his most experienced generals, with a considerable force, to invade Kashmir, and to restore the government of the country to Abdal Magre.

Soon after both Kamran and Mirza Haidar had to advance to Agra with an army of 20,000 men to assist Humayun who had been defeated by Sher Shah Sur at Chausa. Though later on Kamran declined to assist his brother, Mirza Haidar showed a better character and fought shoulder to shoulder with him. In the face of these developments,

51. Mirza Haidar confuses Kachi Chak with Abdal Magre (*Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), p. 482). He says that they had been turned out of Kashmir, and 'appealed to me for help'. Further he adds, 'Kachi Chak had been forced to disconnect himself (thrice previously) from the government of Kashmir. His own wife and children had not been with him for he had left them in the care of Malik Abdal Magre, and had gone off.' (*Ibid.*, p. 485). Abul Fazl repeats this confusion. He writes at one place Abdal Makari (Magre) and Zungi Chak (Regi Chak) were opposed to the ruler of Kashmir and came to Lahore in order that by their intimacy with Mirza Haidar they might obtain an army; so Mirza Haidar was disposed to make himself independent by using the craft and perfidy which are indispensable to Kashmiris, etc. (*Akbarnama* (Beveridge), Vol. I, pp. 359, 403.) From these notices it appears that Kachi Chak was also in collusion with Mirza Haidar before the latter occupied the country which is not true. In fact, it was Kachi Chak who had forced Abdal Magre and Regi Chak to seek refuge in the hills when they entered into communication with Mirza Haidar whom they encouraged to occupy Kashmir, when Kachi Chak left the country in helplessness. This is supported by Nizam-ud-din, Firishta and the chroniclers of Kashmir. (*Tabaqat*, p. 615; Firishta, ii, p. 355; *Baharistan*, f. 106b; *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 47; Suka, pp. 378-79)

52. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), p. 482; *Akbarnama*, (Beveridge), Vol. I, p. 359

Baba Chuchak, who was not very earnest to undertake the expedition to Kashmir, gave it up.[53]

Meanwhile, the disastrous defeat of Humayun and the rout of his troops at Kanauj, on 17 May 1540,[54] forced both Humayun and Mirza Haidar Dughlat to escape to Lahore for safety. The ever-vigilant and opportunist Kashmiri leaders, Abdal Magre and Regi Chak, who had all along been biding their time outside Kashmir, resumed negotiations with Mirza Haidar. The latter on his part succeeded to impress on the fugitive emperor the advantages that would result from the invasion of Kashmir. He urged on him that the geographical position of the country would serve as a *point d'appui* for the recovery of the lost empire. Having become convinced, Humayun furnished the Mirza with a small contingent of four hundred soldiers.[55] With this negligible army he reached Nowshahr.[56]

By this time the circumstances at Lahore had considerably altered. Humayun's schemes were thwarted by his deceitful brothers, Kamran and Askari. He was therefore forced to return to Sind. This news reached Mirza Haidar at Nowshahr, and immediately he was deserted by his chief lieutenants, Khawaja Kalan and Sikandar Tupchi.[57] Yet with the daring of despair he marched on Kashmir. He took the lengthy Punch route because he found it unguarded. He circumvented Kachi Chak,[58] who was then the vir-

53. *Ibid.*

54. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), pp. 471-77; Stewart, *Tazkirat-ul-Waqiat*, pp. 21 sqq; Elliot and Dowson, *Hist. of Ind.*, Vol. V, pp. 143-44; *Tarikh-i-Shershahi* (A.U. Ms.), p. 154; *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, p. 176

55. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), p. 479. Mirza Haidar was furnished with a small contingent of four hundred free-men and slaves. (*Ibid.*; Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi* (Bib. Ind.), pp. 157-58)

56. Nowshahr or Naoshera (Lat. 33° 10′, Long. 74° 18′) is situated on high ground to the north-side of the fertile valley, three hundred feet above the right bank of the (Punch) Tawi river. It lies on the Pir Panjal route to the north of Bhimbar at a distance of 27 miles, and 122 miles south-west of Srinagar. (Bates, *Gazetteer*, p. 289)

57. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), p. 483; *Akbarnama* (Beveridge), Vol. I, p. 401

58. *Akbarnama, Ibid.*

tual ruler of Kashmir. He debouched in the valley suddenly and occupied it on 22 November 1540,[59] without striking a blow. Kachi Chak was dislodged and compelled to quit Kashmir.

IV

AS GOVERNOR OF KASHMIR (1540-50)

The bloodless occupation of Kashmir by Mirza Haidar Dughlat for the second time was the moral defeat of the Chaks. For Mirza Haidar too it meant no big triumph. He had become unpopular among the Kashmiris since 1532-33, when they were ruthlessly treated by his Kashghari troops. Moreover, his legal position also appeared untenable owing to the absence of emperor Humayun from India. Nevertheless, the policy which he adopted to retrieve his position and to guarantee security for himself and his retainers earns for him the reputation of a man of great statesmanship and tact. He acted entirely on the advice of Abdal Magre and Regi Chak. He associated them in the administration of the country, and proclaimed Nazuk Shah, the son of the late Sultan Fath Shah, king relegating to himself a subordinate position.

Mirza Haidar had hardly governed the country for a year and a half when Kachi Chak approached Sher Shah Sur for help to overthrow him. He made his appeal acceptable and worthy of consideration by offering Sher Shah[60] the hand of the sister of the late Sultan Ismail Shah. Moreover, in the overthrow of Mirza Haidar Sher Shah calculated yet another triumph over Humayun. He supplied Kachi Chak with an Afghan contingent of five thousand cavalry, two elephants and many foot-soldiers under the

59. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), p. 486; *Akbarnama, Ibid.; Baharistan*, f. 107a

60. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi, Ibid.;* Mirza Haidar does not mention Kachi Chak offering the hand of the sister of Ismail Shah to Sher Shah Sur. Abul Fazl mentions it (*Akbarnama, Ibid.*, p. 403). Abbas Khan does not mention the despatch of an Afghan contingent by Sher Shah to Kashmir to help Kachi Chak. (*Tarikh-i-Shershahi* by Abbas Khan)

command of Husain Khan Sherwani and Adil Khan.[61] They entered Kashmir in 1541 through Hirapor. At this time Mirza Haidar's position had been considerably weakened owing to the death of Abdal Magre,[62] his powerful ally, and the defection of his other Kashmiri supporters, excepting Regi Chak[63] and his party. Nevertheless, Mirza Haidar determined to fight to the bitter end. He decided to start an offensive rather than to remain on the defensive. Accordingly, he advanced with his troops from Indarkot,[64] which was militarily his stronghold. And after a pause of three months on Monday, 2 August 1541,[65] his three hundred dauntless Mughal-Kashmiri troops made a sudden attack on the Afghans at Watanar.[66] They fought so desperately that they were able to rout the enemy's 5,000 cavalry and several thousand foot-soldiers. By this brilliant victory Mirza Haidar retrieved some of the prestige which Humayun had lost in 1540 at the battle of Kanauj.

Gulmarg Campaign (1544)

His victory over the Afghans made Mirza Haidar the undisputed master of the whole of Kashmir. Yet he gave

61. *Akbarnama, Ibid.; Tabaqat,* p. 616; Firishta, ii, p. 355

62. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), p. 485; *Akbarnama, Ibid.*

63. The Mughal authorities mentiin 'Zangichak', which is a variant of 'Regi Chak', the name mentioned by Suka

64. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), p. 486; *Akbarnama, op. cit.,* p. 403. It is 'Indarkot' and not 'Indarkol' of the Persian chroniclers. 'Indarkot' or Atarakotta, originally a castle in Hindu times, is situated on the Banasbal Lake (Lat. 34° 15′, Long. 74° 44′), 12 miles north-west of Srinagar. (Stein, *Anc. Geog.,* para 122; Bates, *Gazetteer,* p. 265)

65. Mirza Haidar mentions the date 8 Rabi-us-Sani 948 (2 August 1541). *Akbarnama* mentions 20 Rabi-us-Sani 948 which appears to be a clerical error. (*Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), p. 486; *Akbarnama,* Vol. I, p. 403). The date is also obtained from the chronogram *Fath-i-Mukarrar,* mentioned by the author of *Baharistan.* (*Baharistan,* f. 108a)

66. *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik,* p. 47; *Tarikh-i-Narayan Kaul,* f. 58a; *Tarikh-i-Hasan,* p. 383. Tanhar mentioned in the *Baharistan* is a clerical error. Watanar (Lat. 33° 34′, Long. 75° 19′) is a village situated in a grassy valley in the range of hills between Shahabad and Bring parganas. (Bates, *Gazetteer,* p. 401)

proof of self-denial when, to quote his own words, he showed to the puppet king Nazuk Shah far more respect than that shown by the former administrators of the kingdom to their sultans.[67] A period of tranquillity followed. But it was not destined to last long. Before long, the Mirza found himself embroiled in another conflict with Kachi Chak. This time it was precipitated by his own trusted minister Regi Chak. How it happened is stated below.[68]

On a certain day Mirza Haidar and Regi Chak went together to meet Shah Ahmad Nurbakhsh, a reputed and popular saint, at Zadibal. Here Mirza Haidar behaved with exemplary consideration and friendliness towards the Shias and Nurbakhshiyas. His attitude aroused grave suspicions in the mind of Regi Chak, who was a fanatic Sunni. If we take into consideration the subsequent religious policy of Mirza Haidar, his present attitude appears to have been unquestionably diplomatic. But the indiscreet and hasty Regi Chak took great offence, and caused a revolt against Mirza Haidar in Kamraz, which was his stronghold. Mirza Haidar was forced to march against him, and compelled him to escape to Punch. Here he made common cause with Kachi Chak, the sworn enemy of Mirza Haidar. Then the two Kashmiri leaders made a joint attack on Mirza Haidar at Gulmarg.[69] But they suffered a total defeat when the Mirza made a night attack on them in 1544, and compelled them to escape first to Punch and then to Rajauri.

67. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), p. 486

68. *Baharistan*, ff. 108b-110a; *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, Vol. ii, p. 384-85

69. Gulmarg (Lat. 34° 5′, Long. 74° 25′) or Gauri Marg of the Persian chroniclers of Kashmir, the well-known alpine plateau, is situated on the slopes of the Pir Panjal range to the south-west of the valley of Kashmir. It lies about 13 miles due south of Baramulla and 24 miles west of Srinagar and may be reached by various roads from Srinagar and Baramulla. There is also a foot-path from Naoshera, and from Punch a path lies over the Nilakantha and Firozpur passes. But they are not usually practicable for laden animals. Gulmarg is about 3,000 feet above the level of the valley, and its topographical position has rendered it one of the most charming summer resorts of visitors to Kashmir. (Bates, *Gazetteer*, pp. 195-96; Stein, *Anc. Geog.*, para 49)

At the latter place, Kachi Chak and his son died in 1546.[70] The same year Sher Shah Sur[71] also died. In the following year Regi Chak[72] was also killed by some unknown persons.

Era of Consolidation and Conquests

The opportune casualties among his most dangerous enemies and the recovery of Kabul in 1545 by the fugitive emperor Humayun gave Mirza Haidar a free hand to enter upon a scheme of internal tranquillity and external security. To begin with, he proclaimed Humayun emperor and got the *Khutba* read and coins[73] struck in his name, with a view to strengthen his own position officially as well as politically in Kashmir. Culturally, too, he made full use of peace within and placidity abroad. In the most delectable climate of Kashmir he completed the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*,[74] that monumental history of the Mughals of Central Asia, which he had begun in 1541-42. Then he occupied himself, to quote Abul Fazl,[75] with reorganising the administration.

70. *Baharistan*, f. 111a

71-72. *Ibid.*, *Tabaqat*, p. 616; Firishta, II, p. 355

73. In the British Museum there is a silver coin of Kashmir bearing the name of Humayun and dated 952 A.H. (Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Coins of Muhammadan States of India*, p. xlviii). Rodgers mentions two coins of Humayun which were struck in Kashmir in 953 of the *Hijri* era; there is another bearing date '50' with third figure illegible. This last coin has the letter '*hay*' on the surface which, according to Rodgers, may stand for the initial letter of the name 'Haidar'. (Rodgers, 'Sultans of Kashmir', *JASB*, 1885, p. 116; 'Silver Coins of the Sultans of Kashmir', *JASB*, 1885, Nos. 13, 14 and 33, Plate I). According to Ahmad Yadgar, Humayun, after recovering Kabul and Peshawar, had decided to occupy Kashmir also for which the Mirza had already paved the way, but then the death of Islam Shah Sur (1552) took the emperor to Delhi (Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi* (Bib. Ind.), pp. 334-35; *Akbarnama* (Beveridge), Vol. I, p. 405). These evidences establish that Mirza Haidar regarded Humayun as his sovereign when he was himself at the height of power. Kabul was recovered by Humayun on 15 November 1545 (Erskine, *India Under Babar and Humayun*, Vol. II, p. 325)

74. See introduction by N. Elias to the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* translated by Denison Ross, pp. 1-8; Elliot and Dowson, *Hist. of Ind.*, Vol. V, pp. 127-28; Erskine, *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 193-94

75. *Akbarnama*, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 404

He founded new towns and introduced some aspects of Mughal civilisation. He attracted artisans and craftsmen from abroad, employed them to spread their arts and crafts among the Kashmiris, and made the country prosperous. Himself he laboured hard to render the state militarily strong. Pandit Suka[76] shows scant approbation for the changes which he introduced, particularly for the fashions and finely-developed tastes of the Mughals.

The conservative Brahman chronicler upbraids the Kashmiris for imitating Mughal style of dress and diet which, he says, did them more harm than good. Jahangir,[77] on the other hand, extols the cultural excellence acquired by the Kashmiris under Mirza Haidar. He says that during his regime Kashmir had many skilled people. They were skilled in music and their lutes, dulcimers, harps and flutes were quite celebrated in his time, whereas in former times they had only one kind of lute, and they used to sing in chorus in the Kashmiri language, compositions according to Hindi musical modes. He concludes, 'undoubtedly Kashmir is much indebted to Mirza Haidar for the excellences which she possesses'. Muhammad Azam[78] and Maulavi Hasan[79] are equally appreciative of the material changes which were introduced by Mirza Haidar. According to them, he introduced hot-baths, latticed windows and the apparatus for drying paddy, locally remembered as *narah lul*.[80] Posi-

76. Suka, p. 380
77. *Tuzuk* (R&B), Vol. II, p. 148
78. *Tarikh-i-Azam*, p. 69
79. *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, II, p. 385
80. Hasan gives the following description of 'narah lul':

'Here is the method introduced for drying *shali*: A large earthen cauldron filled to the lid with *shali* is placed on fire. When it becomes a little warm, the *shali* (inside) is rolled (with a rod); like this the heat of the fire dries it. This method was in use in Kashghar from remote times. But for the first time it was introduced in Kashmir by Mirza Haidar Dughlat. The reason was that once there occurred a very heavy snowfall before its time so much so that it was impossible to dry *shali*. Then the Mirza introduced the afore-said method. Kashmiris call it by the name of "narah lul", "narah" meaning fire and "lul", a big "cauldron".' (*Tarikh-i-Hasan*, II, p. 385)

tively, all credit for introducing *narah lul* goes to Mirza Haidar, but so far as hot-baths and latticed windows are concerned the Kashmiris had been familiar with them since the time of Hindu rulers.

Having established peace in the country, Mirza Haidar chalked out a programme of conquests and diplomatic alliances with the neighbouring states. His aim was to secure Kashmir against external danger and internal disorders which had been her besetting sins. The first place to enter his scheme was Kishtwar,[81] because it was still predominantly Hindu, and could be used as vantage-ground by his enemies. But the campaign ended in disaster. In 1547, he entered into diplomatic relations with Abdur Rashid Khan,[82] Sultan of Kashghar. He received the sultan's ambassador with due honour, and dedicated his *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*[83] to him. Militarily he appeared so strong that he undertook the conquest of the neighbouring states[84] of Rajauri and Pakhli as well as the distant states of Ladakh and

That 'hot-baths' were introduced by Mirza Haidar, or for the matter of that by the Muslims in Kashmir, cannot be accepted as a historical fact. As a matter of fact, hot-baths were a feature of the ancient civilisation of Kashmir. They have served, since ancient times, as places of ablution, as well as comfortable hot rooms during the season of severe cold as they do now. Poor people resort to these *'hammamas'* which, in ancient times, were attached to temples and monasteries, but at present are attached to almost every large mosque. There is one in every large mohalla attached to a mosque or a big temple. They existed in the time of Kalhana. (*Rajat,* VIII, 2423). The art of window-cutting (*tabdan tarashi*), too, was not introduced in this country by Mirza Haidar. He himself says that it was introduced by Sultan Zain-ul-Abiden. (*Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), p. 434)

81. *Tabaqat,* p. 616; Firishta, II, p. 355. Kishtwar (Lat. 33° 10′, and 33° 25′, Long. 75° 10′) lies to the east of Kashmir and is situated on the Chinab river. In ancient times it was known as Kashta-Vata. (Bates, *Gazetteer,* p. 237; Stein, *Anc. Geog.,* para 81)

82. *Tabaqat,* p. 616; Firishta, II, p. 355

83. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), p. 3. It is strange that Mirza Haidar should have decided on compromise with Rashid Sultan (otherwise Abdur Rashid Khan) whose anti-Dughlat activities had compelled him to flee from Kashghar in 1533 to Mirza Kamran in the Punjab. (*Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), pp. 464, et. sqq.)

84. *Tabaqat,* p. 617; Firishta, II, p. 356

Baltistan. All campaigns were successful. By 1548 these states were annexed and their administration was entrusted to royal officers.[85]

Religious Attitude

Assured of security from external dangers, Mirza Haidar embarked upon the policy of establishing one church in one state. Personally, he was an implacable bigot,[86] a fanatic Sunni. He was intolerant of those who did not conform to the Sunni creed. He was excited to find Kashmir a land of the orthodox and heterodoxy—Sunnis, Shias, Nurbakhshiyas, Sufis, Shamasis and idolaters.[87] The Nurbakhshiyas, he says,[88] followed a corrupt form of religion and practised many heresies; the Sufis had legitimatised

(i) Pakhli is the modern hill state of Hazara (ancient Urasa) comprising the whole of the hill territory lying between Kashmir to the east and the Indus to the west. To Pakhli also belonged the lower valley of the Kishanganga and the valleys formed by streams flowing from the Kajnag range and the mountains to the north-east of Kashmir. (*Ain* (Jarrett), II, p. 390 sq; Stein, *Anc. Geog.*, para 83)

(ii) Rajauri (ancient Rajapuri, Lat. 33° 23′, Long. 74° 21′), a large and partly walled town at an elevation of 3,094 feet above sea level, was the largest town met with on the Pir Panjal route leading into Kashmir from Western Punjab. It is 56 miles north of Bhimbar and 94 miles S.W. of Srinagar. (Bates, *Gazetteer*, p. 317; Stein, *Anc. Geog.*, para 82)

(iii) Ladakh and Baltistan (Skard) known to Mughal chroniclers as the 'great' and 'little' Tibet, respectively, and to Kalhana and his Pandit successors as 'Bhuttadesa', are situated across the head-waters of the Kishanganga. They are inhabited by people of Tibetan race and language whom Kalhana calls Bhauttas. (Stein, *Anc. Geog.*, para 84)

85. *Tabaqat*, p. 617; Firishta, II, p. 355; *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), Intro., pp. 20-21

86. This aspect of Mirza Haidar's character is evident from his remarks about the transactions of Babar with the Persian Shias after the capture of Samarqand in 1511 (*Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), p. 246). It is also supported by his approval of the hypocritical proceedings of Sultan Said Khan of Kashghar in 1531-33, with respect to Ladakh, Baltistan, Tibet and Bolur states of Hunza and Yagistan as well as his refraining from tracing his pedigree beyond Amir Bulalji because the latter's ancestors were not Muslims

87. *Ibid.*, pp. 434-37

88. *Ibid.*, pp. 435-36

many heresies and knew nothing of what was lawful and what was unlawful. He determined to wipe out all types of 'infidelity'. He treated them ruthlessly. In 1548, he desecrated the tomb of Mir Shams-ud-din Iraqi at Zadibal. In 1549-50, he caused his son Shaikh Danial and other leading Shias and Nurbakhshiyas to be put to death.[89] Then he ruthlessly slaughtered their followers.[90] In short, he established such a reign of terror amongst the followers of Mir Shams-ud-din Iraqi, that, to quote his own words, no one dared openly profess this faith; all denied it because, 'they are aware of my severity towards them and know that if any one of the sect appears he will not escape the punishment of death'.[91] This wretched attitude, unfortunately, remained his transcendent religious policy.

Submission to Islam Shah Sur (1550)

The Chaks who were the mainstay of the Shias and Nurbakhshiyas in Kashmir suffered miserably at the hands of Mirza Haidar both religiously and politically. They became exceedingly discontented and alarmed. Their top leaders, Daulat Khan Chak and Ghazi Khan, quitted the country in order to acquaint the Shias of India with his oppressive communal policy and to seek their support against him. They lost no time to take advantage of the enmity between Islam Shah Sur,[92] the son and successor of Sher Shah Sur, and Haibat Khan Niazi,[93] better known as Azam Humayun.

89. *Baharistan*, ff. 111b-112b; *Tarikh-i-Azam* (Ms.), p. 68

90. *Baharistan*, ff. 111a, 112a; *Tarikh-i-Narayan Kaul*, ff. 58a, 58b; *Tarikh-i-Azam*, p. 68; *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, II, pp. 385-86

91. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), p. 436

92. He is also known as Salim Shah. He ascended the throne on the death of his father Sher Shah in 1545 (952 A.H.), (*Tarikh-i-Daudi* (Ms.), p. 228)

93. For Haibat Khan Niazi, better known as Azam Humayun, one of the trusted chiefs of Sher Shah Sur, and governor of Multan and Punjab, and his exploits, see, *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi* (Ms), pp. 236-44. For his differences with Salim Shah, see *Tarikh-i-Daudi* (Ms), pp. 235-45; *Tarikh-i-Shahi* (*Bib. Ind.*), pp. 241-46; Elliot and Dowson, *Hist. of Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 481, 493; Niamatullah, *Makhszan-i-Afghani* (Dorn), pp. 162-68

Islam Shah Sur had become suspicious of his father's nobles, particularly Haibat Khan Niazi, who had been scheming to place another claimant on the throne of Delhi. His hatred and enmity against them was inevitable; and he combed them out. Worsted in the plains, Haibat Khan and his followers took refuge with the Ghakkars. Even from such a distance they caused Islam Shah Sur so much annoyance that he was compelled to advance in person with a large army to destroy them. For two years continuously he fought with the Ghakkar chief, Adam Khan,[94] because he was also a devoted friend of emperor Humayun. Viewing the predicament of Haibat Khan Niazi, the fugitive Chak leaders, Daulat Chak and Ghazi Khan Chak, intrigued with him. They took him and his followers to Rajauri to give them shelter and then prepare them for an attack on Mirza Haidar.[95] But Islam Shah was determind to chastise him. With this aim he came to Nowshahr. Meanwhile, Mirza Haidar, finding himself an object of the Chak-Niazi intrigue, raised blockades on the road against the Niazis,[96] in consideration of self-protection, possibly also to secure the good will of Islam Shah. And Haibat Khan and his supporters found themselves between the devil and the deep sea.

What followed has been differently described by historians. According to Nizam-ud-din Ahmad and Firishta,[97] Haibat Khan finally made peace with Islam Shah Sur and surrendered his son to him as an earnest of good conduct. He also concluded peace with Mirza Haidar who supplied him with a large sum of money which relieved him of his financial troubles.[98] The failure of their scheme caused division among the Chak leaders who had sponsored the cause of Haibat Khan. Some of them deserted him and went over

94. *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, pp. 245-46; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, Vol. IV, pp. 495-97

95. *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, pp. 249-50

96. *Ibid.*; Elliot and Dowson, *Hist. of India*, Vol. IV, pp. 496-97

97. *Tabaqat*, p. 617; Firishta, II, p. 356. According to Abdulla, Azam Humayun surrendered his son and mother as hostages to Islam Shah. (*Tarikh-i-Daudi*, p. 249; Elliot and Dowson, *Hist. of Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 497)

98. *Ibid.*

to Mirza Haidar, while others still clung to him.

Abdulla[99] and Niamatullah[100] give a different version of the end of the Niazi episode. According to them, when the Kashmiri partisans of Haibat Khan Niazi became conscious of the failure of their scheme, Ghazi Khan Chak, who was the most unscrupulous and dauntless among them, defected and joined Mirza Haidar. He appraised him that Haibat Khan Niazi had reached 'the pargana of Banihal, and the hills of Lohkot', with a large Afghan force in order to occupy Kashmir. Mirza Haidar despatched Kashmiri troops under the command of Idi Raina, Husain Magre, Bahram Chak, and Yusuf Chak against the invaders, and a fierce contest ensued. The Kashmiris gained a complete victory killing Haibat Khan Niazi, Said Khan and Bibi Rabia, who were the chief Niazi leaders. Mirza Haidar propitiated Islam Shah Sur when he sent to him their heads as a peace offering. But according to Nizam-ud-din,[101] Firishta, and the author of the *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, the incident pertaining to the end of the Niazi chiefs occurred after the death of Mirza Haidar.

The correct position appears to be this: Islam Shah Sur, Haibat Khan Niazi and Mirza Haidar had concluded a tripartite peace treaty. It was therefore sheer madness on the part of Haibat Khan Niazi to have even thought of attacking Kashmir when he had been abandoned by his Kashmiri adherents and had placed his son as a hostage with Islam Shah Sur. It is equally unbelievable that Banihal[102] could

99. *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, p. 250; Elliot and Dowson, *Hist. of India*, Vol. IV, pp. 497-98

100. Niamatullah, *Makhazan-i-Afghani* (Dorn), pp. 167-68

101. *Tabaqat*, p. 620; Firishta, p. 358; *Baharistan*, ff. 116b, 117a

102. *Ibid.* We cannot accept the scene of action to have been Banihal. There appears some clerical error. In the first place Banihal (Long. 75° 16′, Lat. 33° 31′) is not connected with nor forms part of the Salt Range of West Punjab. It lies to the south of the Kashmir valley and is separated from it by the Pir Panjal range (Bates, *Gazetteer*, pp. 137-38). On the other hand, Lohkot (Long. 74° 23′, Lat. 33° 98′) or Loharkot of Alberuni (Alberuni, *Kitab-ul-Hind* (Sachau) I, p. 317 and II, p. 341) is undoubtedly connected with the Salt Range and has been strategically the most important place on the road leading from West Punjab to Kashmir (Stein, Note E, *Rajat*, Vol. II, pp. 293-300). Obviously the battle

have been the scene of action considering the relative topographical position of Lohkot and Banihal. In those days when travelling was exceedingly difficult, it was almost impossible for the Niazis, to have transported themselves so quickly from Rajauri to Banihal. Taking into consideration all these facts and the fact that both Abdulla and Niamatullah wrote long after Nizam-ud-din Ahmad and Firishta, the statement of the latter authorities appears to be more trustworthy. We have, in the same context, to consider that Mirza Haidar must have been politically in grave difficulties in 1550, since he minted coins[103] in the name of Islam Shah Sur. To propitiate the Sur king further he sent him presents, and the latter reciprocated the courtesy.[104]

The Rebellion

By pursuing an unsound policy internally, Mirza Haidar had placed himself on the edge of a volcano which soon burst to destroy him. After the reduction of Ladakh, Baltistan, Pakhli and Rajauri, in which campaigns his Kashmiri followers had, by and large, made more sacrifices than his Mughals, who were few and far between, Mirza Haidar ignored the claims of the Kashmiris. Then he insulted their experience and capability by entrusting the administration of the conquered provinces to the Mughal officers.[105] His oppressive communal policy deprived him of the support of the Shias and Hindus who were still numerically quite large and wielded enough influence as a political

appears to have been fought not at Banihal but at Bhimbar which lies in the neighbourhood of Lohkot (Punch). We have also to take into consideration the location of the place 'Bunah' or 'Ban' where, according to Abdulla, Sultan Islam Shah Sur was watching the proceedings and received the heads of the Niazi chiefs. The district of Bunah is situated on the river Ban, at a distance of about 29 miles from Lohkot (Punch) (Bates, *op. cit.*, pp. 435-36). Here the Niazis had reached on their way to Kashmir

103. There is a silver coin of Kashmir with the legend 'Islam Shah' dated 957 (1550). (Rodgers, 'Silver Coins of the Sultans of Kashmir', *JASB*, 1885, p. 119 and Coin No. 15, Plate No. 1)

104. *Tabaqat*, p. 617; Firishta, II, p. 356

105. *Tabaqat*, *Ibid*.

force. By coining money first in the name of Humayun and then Islam Shah Sur, he offended the sentiments of the Kashmiris and gave them cause for alarm and revolt. The situation took a dangerous turn on 12 October 1550 when the Mirza sent an expedition to Mankot.[106] The campaign was conducted by his cousin Qara Bahadur. But Qara Bahadur's army comprised a mixed force of the Kashmiris and Mughals. When they entered the complicated mountain range beyond Baramulla on the 25th, the Kashmiris who outnumbered the Mughals and were, to all intents and purposes, determined to revolt, fell upon them. Some Mughals were killed, some were captured and some managed to escape. The event caused a general uprising throughout the country and everywhere the Mughal followers of Mirza Haidar met the same fate.

Death

Left with only a handful of followers, Mirza Haidar, once more with the daring of despair, hastily raised a regiment from Kashmiri artisans and tradesmen who possessed neither skill nor aptitude for fighting.[107] At the head of this untrained army he marched from Indarkot to Khanpur.[108] After examining the position of the enemy which was numerous, he decided upon taking them by surprise in a night attack. Before long, however, he was way-laid and killed on 19 November 1550.[109] His Sunni followers managed

106. *Baharistan*, f. 115a. Muhammadkot of *Baharistan* is a clerical error. For Mankot (Lat. 33° 38′, Long. 75° 11′) is a village and fort in Punch situated on the right bank of the Mendel stream, on the direct path between Punch and Kotli. (Bates, *Gazetteer*, p. 268)

107. *Tabaqat*, p. 618; Firishta, II, p. 356

108. *Ibid., Akbarnama, op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 406. In view of the notice of Abul Fazl who locates the place on the Srinagar-Hirapur Road, we might safely identify it with Khanpur Serai (Lat. 33° 56′, Long. 74° 36′), a village in the Birwa pargana situated about a mile north-east of Drang, on the road towards Srinagar. (Bates, *Gazetteer*, p. 232)

109. The event is variously described. Abul Fazl states that Mirza Haidar lost his life at the hands of Kamal Dhobi and adds, 'some say that one of his own servants unknowingly hit him with an arrow' (*Akbarnama, Ibid.*). Niazam-ud-din says that one Nazr Qurchi (curassier) aimed

to save his dead body from being desecrated by the enemy, and buried it in the Mazar-i-Salatin, in Srinagar.

V

MIRZA HAIDAR DUGHLAT—AN ESTIMATE

Mirza Haidar Dughlat rendered himself famous as the author of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*. Here our main purpose is to estimate his work as conqueror and ruler. According to Abul Fazl,[110] he rehabilitated Kashmir, having raised it from a state of ruins and desolation to a land abounding in cultivation, flourishing towns, and arts and crafts, with the help of the artisans and craftsmen whom he invited from other countries. At the same time, Abul Fazl blames him for devoting himself too much to music, as a result of which he rendered himself forgetful of the dangers that surrounded him. He blames him also for conducting the government of Kashmir in the name of the puppet Nazuk Shah as well as

an arrow (unknowingly) and heard the familiar voice of the Mirza, 'you are at fault', and understood that the arrow had hit the Mirza. Some say Kamal Dhobi killed him with a sword, but it was seen his body manifested only the sign of an arrow (*Tabaqat*, pp. 618-19). The author of the *Baharistan* emphatically states that he was killed by the lance of Kamal Dhobi. Of all the available authorities the *Baharistan* alone gives the exact date of the occurrence, 8 Zilqadah 957 A.H. (18 November 1550) (*Baharistan*, f. 116b; *Tarikh-i-Azam*, p. 68). Haidar Malik and Narayan Kaul mention the year 959 which is incorrect (*Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, 49; *Tarikh-i-Narayan Kaul* (Ms) f. 59b). Abul Fazl places his death in 958 (1551) (*Akbarnama*, Vol. I, p. 405.). Shah Nawaz follows him (*Maasir-ul-Umara* (*Bib. Ind.*), Vol. III, p. 49). European writers following the Mughal authorities also fix the year 1551 (958) (Rodgers, *JASB*, 1885, pp. 119-20; Elias, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), p. 461; Haig, *Camb. Ind.* III, p. 289.) But the extant inscription on the tomb of Mirza Haidar gives the year of his death in the chronogram *Qaza-i-Illahi*, which gives 957 (1550). This date is also accepted by Mir Izzat Ullah who accompanied Moorcroft on his Central Asian tours, and at his bidding put up a second inscription on the tomb. He states that Mirza Haidar died in 957 (1550). It also finds support in the legend of the coins of Nazuk Shah, 'Nadir' of the coins, (Coin No. 10, Plate 1, *JASB*, 1885, p. 121). See also *Appendix E*

110. *Akbarnama, Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 404

for his 'frigid and insipid bigotries which resulted in the imperfect development of the country'.

Jahangir[111] applauds him for his love of music and for introducing foreign arts and crafts in this country. 'Kashmir is much indebted to Mirza Haidar for its excellences', he writes. Jauhar[112] mentions him as a faithful servant of emperor Humayun. According to Abdulla, he was 'a youth of a magnanimous disposition'.[113] Amin Ahmad Razi says that he 'was endowed with an excellent character and a rare talent for elegant composition in verse as well as in prose. To these gifts of nature, he added those of extreme valour, and all the qualities that constitute a great general.'[114]

Let us now turn to his European critics. According to Erskine, he was a 'man of worth, of talent, and of learning'. While appreciating his learning and his patronage of the learned, Elias blames him for his communal frenzy. He calls him a 'bigoted Musalman and a fanatical Sunni'.[115]

While generally agreeing with these views, I am afraid, Abul Fazl's statement is open to question. He says that Mirza Haidar sent for artisans and craftsmen from all quarters and adorned Kashmir with flourishing cities and with civilisation. Mirza Haidar himself refutes this view. He states, 'In Kashmir one meets with all those arts and crafts which in most cities are uncommon, such as stone-polishing, stone-cutting, bottle-making, window-cutting, gold-beating, etc., etc. In whole of Navra-un-Nahar, except in Samarqand and Bukhara, they are nowhere to be met with, while in Kashmir they are even abundant. This is all due to Zain-ul-Abiden.'[116]

As regards foundation of new cities and towns by him, we possess no evidence whatsoever among our available written or epigraphic sources in support of this. Abul Fazl

111. *Tuzuk* (E&R), Vol. II, p. 148
112. *Tazkirat-ul-Wakiat* (Major Stewart), p. 17
113. *Tarikh-i-Daudi;* Elliot and Dawson, *Hist. of Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 497
114. See *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), Intro., pp. 25-26
115. Erskine, *History of India,* Vol. II, p. 368; *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), Intro., p. 26
116. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), p. 434

himself does not mention the name of any town which the Mirza had founded. As a matter of fact, a person like Mirza Haidar who remained too busy with foreign affairs and employed his leisure in pursuing a dangerous type of communal policy, and in music, could not have founded new cities or embellished existing ones. In either case, Abul Fazl and Jahangir appear to have been simply swayed by racial and imperial prejudice in giving Mirza Haidar the credit which, in fact, belonged to Sultan Zain-ul-Abiden. The greater fault of the Mirza, to all intents and purposes, was that he thought and acted as a non-Kashmiri. It is so unfortunate that after ten years' sojourn in a country like Kashmir, when he had extensive powers and ample resources, he left behind nothing but bitter memory of the fact that he was basically an uncompromising bigot.

As man, as commander of troops, and as ruler, Mirza Haidar belonged to his times. Having begun his life as a soldier of fortune under the patronising and parental care of Babar, what he appears to have inherited from this benefactor was his great daring against despair. This quality stood by him and remained to be the secret of this success against vicissitudes of life. But his glaring drawbacks were wholly his own. Though a dauntless soldier and an accomplished scholar, he greatly suffered from indecision, from judging people wrongly and from inveterate and dangerous fanaticism. All these characteristics taken together were responsible for his tragic end. His indecisiveness of character manifested itself in his dealings with his disloyal lieutenant Mirza Ali Taghai, whom he knew to be inciting troops against him in 1533 in Kashmir. He admits this when he writes: 'I allowed myself to be deceived by these devilish promptings and lying suggestions (of Mirza Ali Taghai).' Then again: 'I saw that there were only two courses open to me to pursue. On the one hand, to kill Mirza Ali Taghai and subdue Kashmir; on the other, to spare him and return from the country. I finally decided upon the latter course.'[117]

Here the question arises that if he could kill such a man

117. *Ibid.*, p. 441

why did he hesitate, and if he hesitated why should he express remorse? He could neither crush or conciliate. Kashmir was not ablaze against him; she was only simmering with discontent when his friends and well-wishers advised him not to fritter away his energies but to concentrate them in quelling his enemies. But a self-willed, egoistic and arrogant statesman that he was, he rejected their advice and accused them of contentiousness. He tried to behave like a political opportunist, but he miscalculated time as well as opportunity. All this is manifest from his vacillating attitude when he transferred his allegiance from the Kashmiri puppet Nazuk Shah to the fugitive emperor Humayun and then to Islam Shah Sur. And in the hour of his own troubles and dangers, he could draw upon neither one nor the other. Had he, instead, in his self-denial—if we should concede that great quality to him—fixed his gaze on Nazuk Shah alone and trusted his Kashmiri adherents without dividing them on communal considerations, it would have proved a great asset to him against opposition, local or foreign. If he had identified himself with local sentiments and tried to win over the hearts of the Kashmiris, he would have averted his tragic end. Unfortunately, though a critical historian, he did not profit from the policy of Sultan Zain-ul-Abiden whom alone among the sultans of this country he praised.

Then Mirza Haidar was not, considering his nature and temperament, destined to be a successful ruler. Though a bigoted Sunni, he ought not to have brought his fanaticism to play in administrative politics at least as long as he did not find himself unassailable. Then there could be a possibility of pursuing this policy to a logical end with least harm to himself. In this respect he appears to have totally ignored the golden advice of Babar to his successors that they should not interfere in the religions of the people of India. By ruthlessly treating the followers of Shams-ud-din Iraqi, Mirza Haidar not only deprived himself of the moral and material support of the martial community of the country, but also strengthened the ranks of opposition tremendously at the

same time. Viewing his actions in their proper perspective the author of the *Baharistan-i-Shahi* very aptly concludes: 'What after all did he gain by pursuing a ruthless and oppressive communal policy, except that he accelerated his own downfall.'[118]

As a bad judge of friends also Mirza Haidar suffered no less when he placed his choice on Khwaja Haji.[119] The latter had originally ingratiated himself into his confidence in 1538-40, when he negotiated between him and the Kashmiri fugitive leader Abdal Magre. What a pity that ultimately Khwaja Haji became the main source of the rebellion which led to the Mirza's tragic end.[120] The Mirza was killed when he had almost reached the Khwaja's tent in the dead of night at the battle-field of Khanpur.

In short, when every aspect of his life is taken into consideration, Mirza Haidar Dughlat presents a paradox. On the one hand he exhibits charming characteristics of courage, culture and accomplishment. On the other he displays traits of sinister fanaticism and racial prejudice. Evidently, he was quite unfitted for establishing the Mughal rule in Kashmir.

118. *Baharistan*, f. 112b
119. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), pp. 460, 462; *Akbarnama*, Vol. I, p. 406
120. *Tabaqat*, p. 618; Firishta, II, p. 357

CHAPTER NINE

The Reign of the Chaks

MIRZA HAIDAR DUGHLAT'S TRAGIC end once more acquaints us with the national temper and patriotic sentiment of the Kashmiris which do not tolerate foreign domination and communal discord. Already in 1484 they had overthrown the Saiyid regime although the Saiyids were a respected community being direct descendants of Prophet Muhammad. During 1585-86, they rendered the task of Akbar's army pretty difficult in spite of the fact that some of their own prominent popular leaders had intrigued with Akbar. In 1819, they invited Maharaja Ranjit Singh to conquer their country because they were tired of the oppressive rule of the Pathans. In 1947, they opposed Pakistani raiders because they carried fire and sword through their homes and hearths with the aim of converting them to their ideology by force.

In short, Mirza Haidar Dughlat fell because Kashmir was bored. He made two fatal mistakes; firstly, he pursued a bitter communal policy; secondly, by preferring Mughals to Kashmiris he injected the germ of racial antagonism and imperial preference. Either way, he gave an affront to indigenous talent. The Kashmiris who were seething with bitterness and hate at the first opportunity swept off the Mirza along with his regime.

The revolution against Mirza Haidar was, by and large, the result of national opposition to foreign domination. But the unity among the leaders on this and similar occasions in the past and future was a compromise, which turned out to be illogical and unenduring.

The alignment of political forces at this time was limited to the struggle for power between the Magre and Chak communities. Essentially there was no love lost between them. Both were intolerant and aggressive. Both toyed with the

sentiments of cooperation and coexistence on the one hand, and political unity and national security on the other. Fundamentally they were opportunists and grossly selfish. The Magres were mostly Sunnis while the Chaks were mostly Shias. The Magres were an indigenous people, but the Chaks were originally aliens. In spite of these fundamental differences they made common cause against the common enemy. Once the task was accomplished, the very basis of their unity shattered. They relapsed into the old state of mutual suspicion, jealousy and rivalry. Out of the resultant confusion the Chaks, who were primarily stronger and braver, and at the moment possessed effective leadership, emerged triumphant. They ousted the Magres from power and the Shahmiris from kingship, and themselves stepped in. The following narrative deals with this development.

II

DAULAT CHAK'S MINISTRY

The leading chiefs who had incited the passions of the people against Mirza Haidar Dughlat were Idi Raina, Husain Magre, Daulat Chak and Ghazi Khan Chak. In order to consolidate the affairs of the state and to restore order, they placed Nazuk Shah[1] on the throne for the third time with Idi Raina as prime minister. Then they divided the country among themselves. To strengthen and to safeguard their government they bound themselves by matrimonial alliances.[2]

By and large, this arrangement extended the power and prestige of the Chaks, and Idi Raina became jealous of them.[3] He caused a rift in the lute when he freed the

1. *Tabaqat*, p. 619; Firishta, II, p. 357. Rodgers attributes coin No. 10 of his list to the reign of Nazuk Shah (Rodgers, 'Coins of Sultans of Kashmir', *JASB*, 1885, Coin No. 10, Plate 1). But this coin too bears like other coins (Nos. 5, 8 and 9) of Nazuk Shah the usual legend 'Nadir Shah', with the year 957 A.H. (1550) on the reverse

2. *Tabaqat*

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 619-20

Mughal followers of Mirza Haidar Dughlat along with their leader Mirza Qara Bahadur from prison, and supplied them with horses, money and fighting equipment, in order to use them as a counterpoise against the Chaks.[4] But he paid very dearly for his intransigence. Soon he found himself disowned even by his own lieutenants.

The Niazi episode[5] had shot up the importance of Daulat Chak as a statesman and military leader. The overthrow of the Niazis was a turning-point in the career of the Kupwari[6] branch of the Chaks particularly of their leader Daulat Chak. His success had gained him ample prestige and influence so much so that he boldly challenged the power of Idi Raina and compelled him to quit the country without trying the chance of a battle. Idi Raina died a fugitive.[7] Soon after in 1551 Daulat Chak seized power after deposing Nazuk

4. *Ibid.*, p. 620

5. *Ibid.* For the battle fought between the Kashmiris and Niazis resulting in the death of Haibat Khan (Azam Humayun), his wife and others, see Chapter VIII, Sect. IV

6. According to Nizam-ud-din and Firishta, Kashmir at this time was divided among four families, namely, (1) 'Rainas' led by Idi Raina; (2) 'Magres' led by Hasan Magre, son of Abdal Magre; (3) 'Kupwari' Chaks, led by Bahram Chak; and (4) the 'Kasis' (or 'Kamis', according to Nizam-ud-din), whose chief leaders were Kachi Chak, Daulat Chak and Ghazi Khan Chak. (*Tabaqat*, p. 619; Firishta, p. 358)

The terms 'Kasis' and 'Kamis' are confusing, in all likelihood due to some clerical error. We cannot identify them with the tribe 'Khasas' mentioned in the *Rajatarangini* by Kalhana, who became known as 'Khakhas' and 'Bombas' during the 18th and 19th centuries (*Rajat*, I, 317 and Dr. Stein's note). They were not 'Chaks' though they happened to be as restless and marauding. Moreover, the Khasas are not heard of after the establishment of the Islamic state in Kashmir. But according to Persian chroniclers of Kashmir the Chaks were bifurcated into two communities known as the 'Trahgami' Chaks and 'Kupwari' Chaks, in the reign of Sultan Zain-ul-Abiden, according to their residential association with Kupwara and Trahgam, respectively

Kupwara and Trahgam are two extant villages in Kashmir. Kupwara is a considerable village at a distance of ten miles from Handwara (Lat. 34° 24′, Long. 74° 19′). For Trahgam see Section III, note 26, *infra*

7. *Tabaqat*, pp. 620-621; Firishta p. 358; *Baharistan*, ff. 118a and 118b

Shah after a nominal reign of ten months.[8] He placed Ismail Shah II,[9] the grandson of Muhammad Shah, on the throne. He continued to wear the crown till 1554[10] when he died a natural death.

The author of the *Baharistan-i-Shahi*[11] deprecates the religious attitude of Mirza Haidar Dughlat but showers encomium upon Daulat Chak. 'This virtuous man', he writes, 'issued an order that in all his territories every inhabitant was free to follow any religion he liked and no one was to molest another in the matter of religion.' The facts, however, do not support this view. Daulat Chak remained very favourably inclined to the Shias and Nurbakhshiyas. He endeavoured to revive the Nurbakhshiya creed. He rebuilt the mausoleum of Shams-ud-din Iraqi[12] at Zadibal which had been demolished by Mirza Haidar Dughlat. He constructed new mausoleums in memory of Shaikh Danial and Baba Ali Najar. He revived the religious orders (*silsilah*) of Saiyid Ali Hamadani and Shams-ud-din Iraqi. He ordered the names of the twelve Shia *imams* to be put in the Friday sermon.[13] He imposed the *jizya* upon the Brahmans who happened to be the only Hindus living in the country. When

8. The Lucknow editions of the *Tabaqat* and the *Tarikh-i-Firishta* wrongly give two months instead of ten months, whereas in the copies of the *Tarikh-i-Firishta* and *Tabaqat* used by Rodgers and W. Haig respectively, it is ten months. (Rodgers, *JASB*, 1885, p. 123; Haig, *JRAS*, 1918, p. 462). That it is not two months is also supported by Abul Fazl. (*Ain* (Jarrett), II, p. 380)

9. *Baharistan*, f. 118

10. *Ibid.*

11. 'Out of sheer orthodoxy Mirza Haidar Dughlat destroyed the Nurbakhshiya and Hamadaniya creeds and not a trace was left of them in the valley. For about eight years no one had the courage to declare himself a follower of these creeds. Excluding the Hanafi creed all the rest were exterminated. However, Malik Daulat Chak reintroduced the Hamadaniya creed and strengthened (the hands of) Baba Hasan. The Hamadaniya Sufis and Darweshes began to follow the laws and rites of the creed and once more the Nurbakhshiya creed flourished.' (*Baharistan*, ff. 120a and 120b)

12. *Ibid.*, f. 199b. *Tarikh-i-Hasan* (Ms), p. 401

13. *Baharistan*, f. 120b

they entreated him to rescind the order, he replied, 'How can I, who am a Muslim, cease to levy tax from the Brahmans?'[14]

Daulat Chak conquered Ladakh[15] and Baltistan; but the great earthquake of 1554[16] marred his reputation. There was tremendous loss of life and property. The river Vesav[17] changed its course. Suka writes: 'The confusion caused by the earthquake in the two towns of Husainpur and Hasanpur situated at some distance across the river (Vesav) can be seen even to this day[18]... Earthquake continued several days, occurring several times every day, and the people lived under canvas.'[19] In the same year, Ismail Shah II died. He was succeeded by Habib Shah.

Daulat Chak's distractions did not end here. He hastened his fall when he married the mother of Ghazi Khan Chak. Thereby he antagonised Ghazi Khan, who was young, intrepid and relentless. He became so infuriated that to wreak his vengeance he joined the ranks of the opposition and plotted to overthrow Daulat Chak. Soon the opportunity arrived. When Daulat Chak was fishing in the Dull Lake all by himself, the conspirators pursued him. While attempting to climb the neighbouring hill, he was captured by a shepherd who made him over to Ghazi Khan. The latter

14. Suka, p. 382; *Tarikh-i-Hasan* (Ms), p. 401

15. *Tabaqat,* p. 621; Firishta, p. 359. All Muslim chroniclers use the name Tibet to signify Ladakh. (See *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (trans.), Intro., p. 13 note)

16. *Tabaqat,* p. 622; Suka, p. 380. The year 962 A.H. (1554) of Nizam-ud-din and Firishta agrees with the Laukika 4630 (1554) mentioned by Suka

17. It is the ancient Visoka, a considerable tributary of the river Jehlam. It receives all the streams coming from the northern slope of the Pir Panjal range between the Sidau and Banihal passes (Stein, *Anc. Geog.*, para 64). The earthquake did not change the course of the Jehlam as is wrongly stated by Haig following Nizam-ud-din, but of the river Vesav. (Haig, *Camb. Hist. India,* III, p. 289; Suka, p. 381, *Tarikh-i-Narayan Kaul* (Ms), f. 61a; *Tarikh-i-Azam* (Ms), p. 74)

18. Suka, p. 381

19. *Ibid.*, p. 382. Perhaps it is the first time we are told that tents were used for residential purposes in Kashmir

got his eyes gouged out on 17 October 1555,[20] in order to render him useless as a political opponent.

End of the Shahmiri Sultanate

It had been a vicious trait in the character of Kashmiri leadership that rarely they lost self in the service of the country. Once power was seized, by all methods of medieval gangsterism by a leader, he acted and behaved as if his sway was invulnerable. Ghazi Khan, a chip of the old block, was no exception to the general character. Inflated with pride and self-aggrandisement, he deposed Habib Shah,[21]

20. *Baharistan*, ff. 122a, 122b; *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 53

21. Among our sources of information there is confusion about Habib Shah. According to our Sanskrit chronicler, Habib Shah was deposed after a reign of one month when Ghazi Khan, out of cupidity, usurped the throne (Suka, p. 383). Nizam-ud-din and Firishta state that he reigned for over five years (*Tabaqat*, p. 624; Firishta, p. 361). The Persian chroniclers of Kashmir place the date of the usurpation of the throne by Ghazi Khan in 962 (1554). (*Baharistan*, f. 125b; *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 54; *Tarikh-i-Azam*, p. 75.)

About the date of the deposition of Habib Shah and the accession of Ghazi Khan there is again confusion. According to Nizam-ud-din and Firishta, Ghazi Khan dethroned Habib Shah in 1561 and then reigned for four years (*Tabaqat*, p. 625; Haig, *JRAS*, 1918, p. 462; Firishta, p. 362; Rodgers. *JRAS*, 1885, p. 129). According to Kashmiri chroniclers Ghazi Khan reigned for over nine years and abdicated in 971 A.H. Abul Fazl does not mention Habib Shah at all (*Ain* (Jarrett), II, p. 380). So far no coins of Habib Shah have been traced (Rodgers, 'Sultans of Kashmir', *JRAS*, 1885, p. 128). All the same it is a fact that he was a king of Kashmir, whose coins are either lost or were not minted at all. This is evident from the following extant inscription on his tomb, in the Mazar-i-Salatin, Srinagar:

'Dar Ziarati rozai ajdadi khud Sultan Habib
Dida wa guft yin Jai Shahan tang gardad anqarib;
Safa o darwaza digar ba pahluyash fazud
Ta az yin roza na gardad hech Shahi benaseeb;
Gahi tameere binai nav shanidam az Sarush
Sali tarikhash *Mazari Sani Sultan Habib*.'

Translation:

'Sultan Habib (Shah) casting a (sad) look at the graveyard of his ancestors became sad and said, "soon this place will be too narrow" (as a cemetery). Accordingly he caused an annexe which was joined with the main cemetery by a gate, to be built to accommodate (the dead bodies) of

although he was also his nephew, because he did not find him 'even worthy of the name of a king'. Immediately he proclaimed himself sultan of Kashmir with the title of Nasir-ud-din Muhammad Ghazi Shah, and founded the dynasty of the Chaks in succession to that of the Shahmiris.

III

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHAKS

The Chaks[22] were destined to play a great role in the political and religious development of Kashmir during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Nevertheless, very little is known about their origin. That they were not originally Kashmiris and belonged to some foreign racial stock is suggested by their boorish temper, turbulent habits and enormous physique.[23] Evidently, a crop of legends has

future kings. At the time it was built the Sarush said, "The Second Mazar of Sultan Habib".'

The date of his death is obtained from the chronogram *Mazari Sani Sultan Habib*—981 A.H. (1573). Thus Sultan Habib died in 1573, that is 19 years after his deposition. The stone on which the said inscription is cut has, unfortunately, been used in the construction of the eastern stone wall of the Mazar-i-Salatin at Zaina Kadal. Fortunately, the inscription is extant. The stone on which it is cut lies at the back of the tomb of Zain-ul-Abiden's mother. It is a big block of stone, four feet by two feet.

Suka, our earliest authority on this period, states in definite words: 'The king Habiba reigned for one month when Gaja Khan, out of cupidity, usurped his throne' (Suka, p. 383). We cannot, therefore, accept the opinion of Nizam-ud-din and Haig. (*JRAS*, 1918, p. 462)

22. The spelling of the name varies according to its pronunciation. The Kashmiri pronunciation is *Tsak*. Lawrence used both 'Tsak' and 'Chak' (Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 308 and pp. 193-94). Dr. Stein wrote 'Chak' (*Rajat*, Vol. I, p. 283, note 186-197 and Vol. II, p. 318, note 48). Sanskrit chroniclers of Kashmir wrote 'Chakk' (Srivara, p. 292), 'Chakra' (*Ibid.*, p. 102), 'Chakresa' (Suka, p. 350), and 'Chakrapati' (*Ibid.*, p. 355).

I have throughout this book used the common spelling 'Chak', which is also invariably used by all the Persian chroniclers of Kashmir

23. The author of the *Baharistan-i-Shahi* writing about the physical strength of Shams Chak says that when he was attacked in the cell by his enemy's agents he died after killing several of them although he had only some brickbats and a knife to defend him with (*Baharistan*, f. 77b).

gathered round them. The first Chak is stated to have sprung to life as the offspring of a woman and an amorous demon.[24] The Kashmiri Chaks, I am tempted to infer by similarity of names, may have descended from the Chakmas of the Malay Peninsula, or from the nomads of the Kipchak desert in Central Asia who became known as Qazaks. May be, they originated from the Turkomans of Central Asia. May be, they were a branch of some ancient tribe living in the Kohkand region who committed robberies and attacked wayfarers, when, it appears, they were enlisted by some Mongol general when he invaded northern India. Whatever their origin, in course of time, they seem to have settled in the Gilgit-Hunza region as conquerors or as refugees; ever since the region became known as Dardistan. Probably some of them migrated to Chittagong hills and Bhutan. The latter inference suggests itself by the name of the present Maharaja of Bhutan, Jigme Dorgi Wang Chuk.

Whatever the fact, the origin of the Chaks (Kashmiri: Tsaks), who entered Kashmir valley about the tenth century, if not earlier, is an intriguing subject. Viewing their physical features and their ruthless marauding habits, we feel convinced that even after inhabiting the valley for several centuries, they could not be assimilated by the local population because they feared them and kept themselves aloof from them. The cacophonous name *Chak* has never sounded happy to the Kashmiris.

According to local Persian chroniclers,[25] the Chaks originally entered Kashmir as refugees from Dardistan

Maulavi Hasan portrays the physique of the Chaks distinctly when he says: 'Mighty stature, bravery and fighting calibre were the inborn qualities of the Chaks. My father often said of a Chak of Trahgam who was a body-guard of Azam Khan, the Pathan governor of Kashmir: With a Tatar cap on head, Uzbeg shoes on feet, fully armed, he walked beside the elephant (the governor was riding) and his head touched the *hudaj* (seat on the elephant).' (*Tarikh-i-Hasan* (Ms.), p. 340)

24. *Tarikh-i-Azam*, p. 74; Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 193. The Dards are stated to have the same conception of the 'demons' who first inhabited their country. (Leitner, *Dardistan*, pp. 1-2)

25. *Baharistan*, p. 47; *Tarikh-i-Narayan Kaul*, f. 39; *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 23; *Tarikh-i-Azam*, p. 47; Lawrence, *op. cit.*, pp. 193 and 308

(Gilgit-Hunza region) in the reign of Raja Sahadeva (1305-24), in the wake of their leader Langar Chak, and settled in Trahgam.[26] According to Firishta,[27] Sultan Shams-ud-din Shahmir raised them to prominence when he recruited them in his army. Evidently, the Chaks must have made Kashmir their home long before the reign of Sahadeva. We might safely identify Langar Chak of the Persian chroniclers with Alamkara Chakra.[28] Kalhana mentions him as a powerful feudal lord of Karna,[29] who had matrimonial relations with the chiefs of Dardistan, and in 1143 caused much distraction to Raja Jaya Simha.

After the Chaks had settled in Trahgam the Kashmiris knew them to be a turbulent and ruthless people. They hated them, feared them and shunned them. By the beginning of the fifteenth century, however, led by their ruthless chief, Pandu Chak,[30] they seem to have extended their depredations in the northern sector of the valley between Baramulla and Sopur, and became a constant menace to the inhabitants. To restrain them and possibly to convert

26. Tragam or Trahgam (according to Kashmiri and Persian chroniclers) and Trigumma on the maps (Lat. 34° 5′, Long. 74° 12′) is an extant village in the beautiful valley of Lolab in the neighbourhood of the large district of Uttarmachipura which was the stronghold of the Chaks. It lies about 30 miles from Baramulla. We should not confuse it with Trigam (Ancient Trigami), which is another village situated at the old junction of the Jehlam and the Sind rivers. (Stein, *Rajat*, Vol. II, p. 329)

27. Firishta, p. 337

28. *Rajat*, VIII, 2481, et. sqq., and 2598 and 2923

29. Karna or 'Karnaha' of *Rajatarangini* and 'Karnao' of Kashmiris (Lat. 34° 14′ — 34° 26′, Long. 73° 50′ — 74°) lies on the northern periphery of Kashmir bordering on Dardistan. Its original inhabitants were known as Khasas; in the last decades of the eighteenth and the early decades of the nineteenth century they became familiar as the notorious 'Khakhas' and 'Bombas', who menaced the valley population so much that they continue to mention their name to frighten their children just like European mothers mention the name of 'Bonne' (Bonaparte) to frighten their children. (Stein, *Anc. Geog.*, para 83; Bates, *op. cit.*, pp. 228-29)

30. The name of this mighty Chak Hercules survives in the extant village of Pandu Chak (Lat. 34° 2′, Long. 74° 56′), situated about five miles south-east of Srinagar, near the stone quarry where the hillock abuts towards the river

Quote

1) "My pen becomes helpless in counting each of these (destroyed temples) I pull up the reins of my pen and leave the count and the account of the ~~many~~ demolition of temples by Araki"

2) Araki forcibly circumcised even the aged people by thousands and hundreds daily in the outskirts of the city.

3) With the band of Derveshes & Sofis he would descent on a village. Menfolk would run away. He would enter a hindu household. Kill their cow and cook its meat and then forcibly make the womenfolk eat beef and recite Kalima. He (Araki) would personally supervise these operations.

(4) Quote

"...and groups of polytheists, infidels and heretics of Kashmir were converted to the Islamic religion by force, coercion and persuation."

(5) On Rozi Bahar people had gathered at Hari Parbat celebrating the day with music and dance and chanting. Araki with his Sofi attacks the revellers and kills some of them the others run away. He razes the temple and breaks the idol.
King Fateh Hassan was angry with Araki, but he is admonished by Araki to speak for the infidels.

(6) Temple at Pandrethan was destroyed idols broken. Its stones were used in building Jamia Masjid and some were taken to mazare salatin.

(7) Temple at Matan destroyed and a mosque built at its place by the Spring — the mosque still stands there.

(8) Vijnath Temple in Bijbehara which had no parallel in its beauty & splendour was personally brought down by Sikandar. Its pinnacles were used in Jamia Masjid, Shahi Hamdan Mosque, Haram Palace of Sultan Sikandar.

Quote from Saivagam.

Our sources are silent about any social conflict between the overlords and their vassals, which only implies that the peasants were elevated in social and moral scale. ...
... they (acaryas) drew their followers from all sects and not from any exclusive group/section of society alone". pp. 162

them into law-abiding people, Sultan Zain-ul-Abiden created the new pargana of Zaingir[31] which he brought under strict administrative and police control because it had been used by the Chaks for periodic sallies on his peaceful subjects. Here he domiciled hardy Kashmiri families who could withstand the onslaughts of the Chaks. To keep a constant watch on their movements in future he built for himself a rest-house in the Wular Lake which he named Zainalanka.

Realising that the Sultan was determined to restrict the freedom of the Chaks and keep a close watch on their movements, Pandu Chak went far enough in his vengeance. He set fire to the sultan's palace in Nowshahr (Srinagar) and inflicted much damage and misery upon the population. Thereby he compelled the sultan to take very drastic and repressive measures against the entire Chak community. He ordered wholesale destruction of their habitations.[32] Pandu Chak and other leading Chaks were put to death, though their women and children were spared. Srivara writes: 'The sultan knew Chakras (Chaks) or Kramarajya (Kamraz) to be wicked men; he confiscated their lands (but) made provisions for their livelihood and inhabited them in the Madava (Maraz) country.'[33] Obviously, Zain-ul-Abiden suppressed their marauding habits. He sequestered them, inhabiting some in Kupwara and some in Trahgam. In course of time the two branches became known as Kupwari Chaks and Trahgami Chaks. Gradually their character was transformed, and they were employed as soldiers, footmen and hardy cultivators.

Until the overthrow of the first Saiyid government in 1484 it seems that the Chaks were on the lookout for a suitable opportunity to reassert themselves. Under feeble sultans, Muhammad Shah and Fateh Shah, when internecine wars and mutual wranglings among local leaders became

31. The pargana of Zaingir comprises the fertile Karewa tract lying between the Wular Lake and the left bank of the Phoru river. (Stein, *Anc. Geog.*, para 128; Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 406)

32. *Baharistan*, ff. 51a and 51b; *Tarikh-i-Hasan* (Ms), Vol. II, p. 300

33. Srivara, p. 102

the order of the day, the Chaks seized this opportunity. They made a common cause with the Kashmiri leaders against the Saiyids. Henceforward they played, interplayed and counterplayed with them according to political exigencies. After the fall of the Saiyids their political career was no more a matter of conjecture. Left with the Magres and Rainas as their only political rivals they succeeded in commanding political leadership by virtue of their pluck, cunning diplomacy and dare-devilry. In the initial stage of their political career they acted as king-makers under their astute and cunning leader Kachi Chak.

The ten-year regime of Mirza Haidar Dughlat was the darkest period in the career of the Chaks. They suffered both politically and religiously. But although suppressed they were not annihilated. And as soon as the Magres and other leaders threw in their lot with them to bring about the fall of Mirza Haidar Dughlat, history repeated itself. Now they established themselves as dictators. The death of Mirza Haidar Dughlat in 1550 brought Daulat Chak and Ghazi Khan Chak into political prominence. And the day when the reckless Ghazi Khan Chak gouged out the eyes of Daulat Chak, the rule of the Chaks became an accomplished fact.

Before the Chaks made Kashmir their home, little is known about their religion. That in all probability they were non-Muslims[34] is suggested by the names of some of their early leaders such as Langar Chak, Shankar Chak, Pandu Chak, Hilmat Chak and Kachi Chak. Whatever may have been their original religion—if any at all—it is a fact that some of them embraced Islam during the regime of the Saiyids while the rest of them became Shias or Nurbakhshiyas under the persuasion of Shams-ud-din Iraqi.

34. Lawrence writes that they were believed to be the descendants of the Musalmans of the Darad country of Chilas (Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 308). We have, however, to remember that Lawrence wrote in the last decade of the nineteenth century and his chief source of information was *Tarikh-i-Hasan*

IV

NASIR-UD-DIN MUHAMMAD GHAZI SHAH (1555-62)

Ghazi Khan, the first Chak sultan of Kashmir, ascended the throne under the title of Nasir-ud-din Muhammad Ghazi Shah.[35] His parentage is a matter of conjecture. Though commonly accepted as the son of Kachi Chak, the founder of the fortunes of the Chaks, he was, in fact, the son of the wife of Hasan Chak, the deceased brother of Kachi Chak. At the death of Hasan Chak, she married Kachi Chak and some three months later Ghazi Khan was born.[36] But his accidental association with Kachi Chak, who committed a breach of Islamic law in acknowledging him as his son,[37] proved a blessing in disguise for him. It gave him both social and political status.

Ghazi Khan was a man of great diplomatic skill and an adept in contemporary statecraft. He was gifted with indefatigable strength and indomitable will. At the same time, he suffered from the defects of an uncompromising nature. He made enemies too quickly. He was not amenable to reason. He was most unforgiving. He was exceedingly stern and high-handed in dealing out justice and often inflicted brutal punishments for trivial crimes, from which he did not spare even his own sons. About his stern justice it is recorded that he ordered the hands of a boy of seven to be cut off for stealing fruits and robbed and pillaged the whole village for the crime of one villager.[38] He was cast into paroxysm of rage and despair, and performed unpardonable acts of savage brutality. Then he was affected with leprosy also. Nevertheless, he offers a paradox. He remained a lover of learning and a benefactor of the learned.[39] As king, however,

35. *JASB*, 1885, Plate II, Coin No. 19. Rodgers attributes coin No. 18, plate II, also to Ghazi Khan. (Rodgers, *JASB*, 1885, p. 129)

36. *Tabaqat*, p. 619; Firishta, II, p. 357

37. Haig, *JRAS*, 1918, p. 467

38. Suka, p. 390; *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 57; *Tarikh-i-Narayan Kaul*, f. 64a

39. Suka, p. 383; *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 57

he manifested unmistakable symptoms of an unsound mind. 'His two victories over the Mughals', says the *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, 'are the remarkable achievements of Ghazi Chak. But with reference to the tyrannical oppression of his subjects (*raiyyat*) and the traditions he established about shedding blood, gouging out eyes, severing limbs and of killing blood-relations, no one knows whether a man so cruel has existed at another epoch or not.'[40]

Invasion of Shah Abul Maali (1557)

The fiery temper of Ghazi Khan made him excessively unbearable and obnoxious to his subjects, who made a combined revolt against him. But they were crushed, and some of them quitted the country in order to seek, like their predecessors, foreign aid.

At this time Shah Abul Maali,[41] who was notorious for strife and sedition,[42] had been imprisoned in Lahore for his impertinent behaviour towards Akbar. But he had managed to escape with the help of his own craft and by the contrivance of one Yusuf (Chak)[43] of Kashmir, who brought him to Nowshahr. Here the fugitive Kashmiri chiefs, Daulat Chak, Khwaja Haji, Fath Chak and others, made a plot to use him against Ghazi Shah.[44]

40. *Baharistan*, ff. 122b, 124a

41. Shah Abul Maali was a favourite amir (commander) of Humayun and had rendered valuable services to him on his return from Persia. He belonged to the family of the Khajas of Kashghar. On account of murdering Sher Ali early in the reign of Akbar, he was imprisoned in Lahore, but escaped and joined in a futile invasion of Kashmir. (Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* (Bib. Ind.), Vol. III, p. 248; Badauni (Ranking), Vol. I, pp. 596-97; *Maasir-ul-Umara* (Bib. Ind.), Vol. III, pp. 186-91)

42. *Akbarnama, op. cit.*, II, p. 153

43. According to Nizam-ud-din, Abul Maali escaped with chains on his ankles, on the shoulders of one Yusuf (Kashmiri) (*Tabaqat*, p. 623). Firishta adds that he settled matters with Kamal Khan, chief of the Ghakkars, and resolved, in imitation of Mirza Haidar, to conquer Kashmir (Firishta, p. 361). Both these authorities and Badauni place the date of this event in 965 A.H. (1557) (Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* (Ranking), Vol. II, p. 3)

44. *Ibid.*

Shah Abul Maali marched on Kashmir in 1557,[45] with a following of 800 Kashmiris by way of Punch, and entered the valley at Baramulla[46] by secret passes.[47] Ghazi Shah also marched against the invaders, and the two armies faced each other at Patan.[48] Shah Abul Maali was defeated and compelled to quit Kashmir in a wretched condition.[49]

Invasion of Qara Bahadur (1561)

His victory at Patan swelled Ghazi Khan's head. He became more overbearing and governed the country with greater injustice.[50] On receiving reports of his cruelties, emperor Akbar despatched Mirza Qara Bahadur, cousin of Mirza Haidar Dughlat, in 1561, at the head of a large body of troops to invade the country,[51] in order to deliver its inhabitants from the yoke of the tyrant. Mirza Qara Bahadur was supposed to be familiar with the topography of the country as well as its politics. But he was neither skilful

45. Firishta, p. 361; *Tabaqat*, p. 623; Badauni, *Ibid.*
46. *Ibid.*

47. *Akbarnama, op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 154. Abul Fazl has used the term *Akudeo* which he says is the Kashmiri term for secret passes (*Ibid.*, p. 154, note 7). Beveridge expresses his ignorance. I am, however, inclined to identify it with *Ak-doh* meaning in Kashmiri 'one day'. Presumably, the secret route by which the Kashmiris led Abul Maali *via* Punch into Kashmir could be crossed in one day. We are still reminded of many passes and underground tunnels which are short-cuts to distant places surrounding the valley of Kashmir

48. *Ibid.* According to Suka the armies of Shah Abul Maali and Ghazi Khan fought at Paraspor (Suka, p. 389). According to *Baharistan* and other Persian chronicles of Kashmir, the battle took place at Hanjiwara (*Baharistan*, f. 124a; *Tarikh-i-Narayan Kaul*, 62f; *Tarikh-i-Azam*, p. 75). Hanjiwara of Persian histories or Hanzweir of Kashmiris and Hanswir on the maps is a large village (Lat. 34° 8′, Long. 74° 38′) situated on either side of a considerable stream which is crossed by a good bridge. It lies two miles south-west of Patan on the road towards Srinagar. (Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 204)

49. For the subsequent history and death of Shah Abul Maali in 1564 in Kabul, see *Akbarnama, op. cit.*, Vol. II

50. *Ibid.*

51. *Ibid.*, Suka, p. 388. For Qara Bahadur, see *Maasir-ul-Umara* (Bib. Ind.), Vol. III, pp. 49-50; *Ain* (Blockman), p. 461

nor laborious, and delayed in undertaking the expedition.[52] When, at length, he arrived at Rajauri, it was the height of the hot season. Here he was joined by discontented Kashmiri chiefs who had deserted Ghazi Khan on account of his ruthless rule.[53] When, however, they found that the army of Qara Bahadur was not well constituted, many of them deserted him. Moreover, the Mughals lost three months at Bhimbar in expectation of receiving reinforcements, and as their leaders were quite advanced in age, they took longer time to reach.[54] In the meantime, Ghazi Shah barricaded the roads and passes leading to Kashmir. Then he advanced in person at the head of his infantry to take the offensive. He put greater vigour in his troops when he promised them a reward of one gold *mohur* for each head of the enemy.[55] The two armies met at Rajauri. After a hard fighting lasting several days Qara Bahadur was defeated.[56]

Abul Fazl[57] says that it was not so much the strength of the Kashmiris that caused the defeat of Qara Bahadur, as it was the season of ague, the beginning of the rains, and the non-arrival of the auxiliary forces, which caused his defeat. Nizam-ud-din,[58] on the other hand, states that the defeat of the Mughals was serious, in as much as Qara Bahadur had a large army and nine elephants; nevertheless, he lost 500 Mughals. The Kashmiri chroniclers[59] record that the Mughals lost 7,000 men which appears to be fantastic. But the fact remains that this defeat demoralised the

52. *Akbarnama, op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 198

53. *Ibid.*

54. *Ibid.*

55. *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 56; *Tarikh-i-Narayan Kaul*, f. 64a. No gold coins of Ghazi Shah have so far been traced. It is doubtful whether Kashmir had gold coinage during these times. Rodgers tells us that he could obtain only one gold *mohur* of the time of Hasan Shah bearing the date 867 A.H. (1472) showing that it was prepared from the die of the coins of the reign of Zain-ul-Abiden. (Rodgers, *JASB*, 1896, p. 225)

56. Suka, p. 388; *Akbarnama, op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 198; *Baharistan*, f. 124b

57. *Akbarnama, ibid.*

58. *Tabaqat*, p. 622; Firishta, p. 361

59. *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 56; *Tarikh-i-Narayan Kaul*, f. 65a

Mughals to such as extent that for another 25 years Akbar made no serious attempt to conquer Kashmir, in spite of the fact that his interest to annex the country continued to deepen.

Abdication of Ghazi Shah

Having failed to overthrow Ghazi Shah with foreign aid, the discontented and harassed Kashmiri chiefs caused revolts in the provinces of Kishtwar and Ladakh.[60] Ghazi Shah sent his son Ahmad Khan in 1562 with a large army to Ladakh to put them down. But Ahmad Khan retreated like a coward without facing the enemy. His conduct annoyed his father so much that he disinherited him, and himself undertook the expedition. During his long absence from the capital his enemies made a common cause with Ghazi Shah's disgruntled son and brother. They stirred up disturbances in the city. When Srinagar sneezed all Kashmir caught cold. The gravity of the situation compelled Ghazi Shah to abandon the Ladakh campaign when he was in the thick of it. He returned to Srinagar. But arduous march and excessive cold had worsened the leprous state of his body so much that he lost his fingers as well as his sight which compelled him to abdicate in 1562,[61] in favour of his brother, Husain Khan Chak, whom he found master of the situation.

60. It could not be Tibet but Ladakh which all Persian chroniclers, wrongly following Mirza Haidar Dughlat, mention as 'Tibet'. (*Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), Mr. Elias's note, pp. 135-36, and Intro., p. 131, note 1; Haig, *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, III, p. 290)

61. *Tabaqat*, p. 625; Firishta, p. 362; *Baharistan*, f. 125a. The date given by Nizam-ud-din, Firishta and the Persian chroniclers of Kashmir is 971 A.H. (1563). This date is also accepted by Haig (*Camb. Hist. India*, III, p. 290; *JRAS*, 1918, p. 462). But I differ from these authorities on the support of numismatic testimony. Rodgers has mentioned two coins of Muhammad Nasir-ud-din Hasan Shah Ghazi, on which the date 970 A.H. (1562) is given both in words as well as in figures (Rodgers, *JASB*, 1885, p. 129, Coin 20 and 21, Plate II). Haig states that the date of his (Husain Shah's) accession is one of the few corroborated by legend on the coins (Haig, *JRAS*, 1918, p. 463)

V

HUSAIN SHAH CHAK (1562-69)

Husain Khan Chak ascended the throne in 1562, under the title of Muhammad Nasir-ud-din Hasain Shah Ghazi.[62] He ruled justly and peacefully. His day was long and strenuous. He is the only sultan of Kashmir who planned his engagements and time suitably. Every day of the week had its specified business, and Saturday was allotted for the company of Brahman and Buddhist priests. He was able to attend to all official and non-official business of the state regularly and without prejudice to other activities.[63] So he made himself popular.

Nevertheless, Husain Shah could not govern quietly and peacefully. He was troubled by his son, Shankar Chak, and Ahmad Khan, Ghazi Shah's son, although they had been in collusion with him against Ghazi Shah. Now they bore a grudge against him. They spread distrust and discontent against him. They were amply supported by Khan-i-Zaman, a notorious rebel. But Husain Shah rose equal to the occasion. With the help of his clever spies and scouts, he was able to foil the schemes of the conspirators. Khan-i-Zaman was arrested and publicly hanged on the Zaina Kadal bridge.[64] Masud Nayak, the commander of the king's body-

62. Rodgers, 'Coins of the Sultans of Kashmir', *JASB*, 1885, p. 129; see coins 20 and 21, plate II.

63. *Haidar Malik*, p. 57; Suka, p. 391; *Tarikh-i-Narayan Kaul*, f. 64b; *Tarikh-i-Azam*, p. 77. The division of the days of the week was made according to the following programme:

(i) Fridays for pious-men, literary men and the *ulama*.
(ii) Saturdays for Hindu *literate* and holymen.
(iii) Sundays for the *Shaikhs* and *Darweshes*.
(vi) Mondays for state business and discussions with *muftis* and *qazis*.
(v) Tuesdays for amusements and hunting trips.
(vi) Wednesdays for army commanders, when troops were presented and feats of archery and military artifices were demonstrated.
(vii) Thursdays for dance and music

64. Suka, p. 392; *Tabaqat*, p. 626. Zaina Kadal bridge (fifth bridge in Srinagar) continued to be the venue for hanging publicly state criminals or murderers etc. who were served with death penalty until the coming

guard, who had arrested the rebel leader, was richly rewarded for his bravery and loyalty. He was raised to the rank of 'prince', with the title of Mubariz Khan.[65] Then Ahmad Khan's[66] eyes were gouged out. His tragic fate hastened the death of his father, Ghazi Shah.[67]

Husain Shah was a poet[68] and a lover of fine arts also. In his treatment towards the Hindus, he was a man of liberal, secular views. He participated in their annual festivals, for instance, *Nauroz* and *Basant Panchami*.[69] Yet he manifested symptoms of hidden bigotry, as the following incident illustrates.

Akbar and Kashmir

Even after Qara Bahadur's defeat Akbar kept himself in close touch with developments in Kashmir. He received regular reports of its political, social and religious conditions particularly during the reign of Ghazi Shah. He became more and more interested to add the 'lovely valley' to his kingdom, and to give her harassed population a reign of law and order.

As a preliminary step he sent in 1568 Mirza Muqim Isfahani and Mir Yaqub as his envoys to the court of Husain Shah Chak.[70] On their arrival the envoys were received with befitting honour and dignity, and elaborate arrangements were also made for their comfortable stay in the valley. At this time a dispute arose, not very uncommon

of the Dogras. Thereafter, such sentences were carried out at Chattabal, at the extreme northern end of the city, on the bank of river Jehlam below the last bridge in Srinagar till 1920. Thenceforward, such criminals were hanged within the Srinagar Central Jail campus before the inmates of the jail only

65. *Tabaqat*, *ibid*.; Firishta, p. 363. Nizam-ud-din and Firishta state that the king treated him like his son and bestowed on him the rich pargana of Bangil as a jagir (*Baharistan*, f. 126b)

66. *Ibid*.

67. *Ibid*., Suka, p. 392

68. *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 58; *Tarikh-i-Narayan Kaul*, f. 64b; *Tarikh-i-Azam*, p. 77; *Tarikh-i-Hasan* (Ms), II, p. 409

69. Suka, p. 393

70. Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* (Lowe), Vol. II, p. 128

to start with, which soon developed into a serious communal disturbance. It related to the interpretation of the Muslim law in which Mirza Muqim involved himself. The dispute[71] started when Qazi Habib, a Sunni and the *khatib* (reader of prayer) of the Jama Masjid, was one Friday wounded by one Yusuf Yandar who was a Shia. Originally the Qazi had struck Yusuf with his whip. The latter, 'a self-respecting soldier', retaliated by wounding him with his sword. Soon the civil dispute turned into a communal disorder, when the sectarian frenzy of the Sunnis became boundless. The Shia sultan directed his Sunni muftis, Mulla Yusuf and Mulla Firoz, to investigate the case and suggest punishment. They recommended that Yusuf should be put to death. The king upheld the verdict. Yusuf was put to death in spite of Qazi Habib's own protest that the death penalty could not be inflicted as he had survived. Thereupon, Mirza Muqim, who was a zealous Shia, questioned the authority of the muftis, and without any authority, religious or official, handed them over to Fath Khan, the sultan's servant-at-arms. Fath Khan put them to death after parading them disgracefully through the city.[72]

After this incident both Mirza Muqim and Mir Yaqub left Kashmir. Husain Shah loaded them with many presents and also sent with them his daughter who was to be married to Prince Salim. To all intents and purposes he acknowledged Akbar's paramountcy. In the meantime some Kashmiris, who happened to have access to the court of Akbar through Shaikh Abdun Nabi,[73] had acquainted him with the conduct of his envoys in Kashmir. The emperor got infuriated with the undiplomatic and bigoted conduct of his envoys, and put them on the gallows at Fatehpur Sikri[74] as soon as they returned. To ventilate his indignation at the conduct of the sultan of Kashmir, the offer of

71. *Tabaqat*, p. 627
72. *Tabaqat*, p. 627, *Baharistan*, f. 129b; Firishta, p. 364; Badauni, *op. cit.*
73. Badauni, *Ibid*. For Shaikh Abdun Nabi's life and his grasping character, see *Maasir-ul-Umara* (Bib. Ind.), Vol. III, pp. 252-57.
74. Badauni, *ibid*.

his daughter's hand was refused and she was returned to Kashmir.[75] Husain Shah was intensely shocked with the insult and, at the same time, finding himself deserted by his subjects, he relinquished his throne in 1569, after a reign of seven years in favour of his brother, Ali Khan,[76] who was the choice of the people. Then he retired to Zainpur[77] and died there a commoner.

VI

ALI SHAH (1569-79)

Ali Khan ascended the throne with the title of Zahir-ud-din Muhammad Ali Badshah.[78] He was kind-hearted and intrepid. He rendered himself popular by establishing peace within and friendship abroad. He inaugurated his reign by introducing himself publicly to his subjects at a mass gathering at the Jama Masjid. Here he promised that he would rule like a patriot-king and that no religious prejudices would interfere with his official duties.[79]

As one of the precursors of the criminal reform movement of the nineteenth century, he abolished cruel punishments like impaling, severing limbs, gouging out eyes, and the death penalty. He governed the country with justice, moderation and kindness, and employed his time and energy in the service of his subjects.[80]

Even so his reign did not pass off without wars and unforeseen calamities. The hill state of Kishtwar,[81] due to

75. *Tabaqat*, p. 628

76. *Ibid.*, Suka, p. 393. The author of the *Baharistan* and other Persian chroniclers of Kashmir place the accession of Ali Shah in 978 A.H.

77. Zainpur pargana was originally founded by Sultan Zain-ul-Abiden. It is situated to the south-west of Shupain (Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 407; Stein, *Anc. Geog.*, para 116)

78. Rodgers, 'Coins of the Sultans of Kashmir', *JASB*, 1885, Coins 23, 24 and 25, plate II

79. *Baharistan*, f. 137a; *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 60; *Tarikh-i-Azam*, p. 78; *Tarikh-i-Narayan Kaul*, f. 65b; *Tarikh-i-Hasan* (Ms), II, p. 424

80. *Baharistan*, *ibid.*

81. *Tabaqat*, p. 629; Firishta, p. 265

its geographical position, had become a den of rebels and revolters ever since the reign of Ghazi Shah. From there they used to make attacks on the valley and disturb the government. In 1572 Ali Shah sent his troops to chastise the law-breakers as well as the raja of Kishtwar who gave them refuge. The rebels disappeared, but Raja Bahadur Singh had to acknowledge the paramountcy of the king of Kashmir, and in token thereof presented the hand of his sister Shankar Devi to the sultan's grandson Yaqub Khan.[82] But as soon as the Kashmir army retraced their steps, the raja repudiated the treaty, and soon paid for it. A second expedition was undertaken in 1574, and the raja submitted like a coward. He sent his son Narayan Singh with a present of Kishtwar saffron and his daughter Fath Khatun[83] for the king's *harem* (women's apartment).

Rise of Pretenders

Ever since the deposition of Sultan Nazuk Shah in 1551, his two sons, Haidar Khan and Salim Khan, had been living as refugees in the neighbouring hill state of Punch. Certain disgruntled Kashmiri leaders succeeded in establishing contact with them simply to use them as tools against Ali Shah Chak. They supplied them with money and men and persuaded them to invade Kashmir. The princes, young, inexperienced and resourceless as they were, got easily duped. They marched on Kashmir from Nowshahr, in 1575,[84] at the head of a large army. Yet they failed to achieve their purpose. The reason was not military but diplomatic. It was due to the cunning diplomacy of Muhammad Khan,[85] the sultan's loyal and trusted governor of Rajauri.

The way he was able to crush the pretenders before they actually came face to face with Kashmir troops is an interesting although a very sad feat of diplomacy and cunning. We are told that as soon as the invaders reached

82. *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 61; *Tarikh-i-Azam*, p. 78
83. *Ibid.*
84. *Tabaqat*, *op. cit.*; Firishta, *op. cit.*
85. *Ibid.*

Rajauri, Muhammad Khan ingratiated himself to the princes. He manifested sympathy for them and made them believe that he was loyal to their cause. Ostensibly he proved the truth of his attitude when he arrested Lohar Khan Chak who had meanwhile reached Rajauri at the head of Kashmir troops to obstruct the progress of the invaders. Now he disunited the princes. He offered himself to conquer Kashmir for Haidar Khan, the elder pretender, on the condition that Salim Khan, his younger brother, should accompany him. This was accepted. When he and Salim Khan reached Thanna,[86] here in a narrow gorge, the crafty Muhammad Khan turned against the prince and put him to death on the spot. The news reached Prince Haidar Khan, who was following up in the rear. He was so shocked with the treacherous conduct of Muhammad Khan that he turned his back on Kashmir for ever, and the enterprise ended in smoke.

Akbar and Kashmir

In 1573,[87] Akbar sent his second mission consisting of Mulla Ashqi[88] and Qazi Sadr-ud-din to Kashmir. Sultan Ali Shah on his part reciprocated suitably. He proclaimed Akbar his sovereign and read the *khutba* and minted coins[89]

86. Nizam-ud-din and Firishta mention the place as 'Changas' and 'Jankan' respectively (*Tabaqat*, p. 629; Firishta, II, p. 365; Rodgers, *JASB*, 1885, p. 134). But it cannot be 'Changas'. Changas Serai (Lat. 33° 15′, Long. 74° 18′) is a scattered village lying between Nowshahr and Rajauri. Since Muhammad Khan started commanding the advanced contingent of the invaders from Rajauri, he could not have gone backwards but forward, and the next station backwards from Rajauri is Changas Serai, while onwards it is Thanna (Lat. 33° 33′, Long. 74° 25′) at a distance of 14 miles from Rajauri. This place had great strategical importance as far as the security of the Kashmir valley was concerned

87. *Tabaqat*, p. 629; Firishta, p. 366

88. According to Badauni, Mulla Ashqi, who had the title of Khan and had written a *diwan* and a *masnavi* had come to Kashmir as vakil with Qazi Sadr-ud-din of Lahore (Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* (Lowe), Vol. II, p. 276)

89. *Tabaqat*, p. 629; Firishta, p. 366. We possess numismatic evidence that coins were struck in the name of Akbar. Coin 27, plate II, bears the

in the emperor's name. When the envoys left Kashmir in 1579, he loaded them with the best specimens of Kashmir—saffron, musk, costus arabicus, shawls, etc.—as presents for the emperor. And as a proof of perpetual allegiance he deputed Muhammad Qasim as his vakil to the great Mughal court and also offered the hand of his niece for Prince Salim.[90]

Famine of 1576

During the last three years of Ali Shah's reign, Kashmir suffered the effects of a devastating famine and fire. The famine[91] was caused in 1576 by a very early, heavy snowfall when paddy was still standing in the fields. The chroniclers give a very gruesome account of the calamity. It is stated that thousands died for want of food. Those who survived fed themselves on the dead, many bartered away their children in return for food, and many quitted the country.[92] The king exhausted the resources of the state to alleviate the sufferings of his subjects, but the famine lasted for three years in all horror and destructiveness. To make confusion worse confounded the northern quarter of Srinagar was completely gutted by fire[93] causing enormous loss of life and property.

Ali Shah was not destined to see his subjects rehabilitated. He fell down from his horse while playing polo in

legend *'Akbar Badshah'*; it was minted in Kashmir in 987 A.H. (1579) (Rodgers, *JASB*, 1885, p. 135). This date corresponds with the year of the departure of the Mughal envoys from Kashmir; Badauni states that the vakils returned from Kashmir in 987 A.H. (Badauni, *ibid*.)

90. *Ibid*.

91. *Tabaqat*, p. 629

92. Suka writes: 'Once an elephant died at the gate of the king's palace and many hungry people hurried there in haste, to be beforehand, and cut out pieces of meat from the carcase. A manufacturer of iron utensils killed a barber's boy for food and cooked the flesh. The people were anxious to save their lives, and they went out to other countries.' (Suka (Dutt), pp. 394-95; *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 62; *Tarikh-i-Azam* (Ms), p. 79)

93. Suka, p. 395

the Idgah ground, and died in 1579,[94] after a reign of nine years. He was succeeded by his son Yusuf Shah.

VII

YUSUF SHAH CHAK

Yusuf Shah is one of the greatest romantic figures known to Kashmir history. He spent much time in woods, among pleasant meads and enchanting cascades which are to be found in abundance in the valley. He was the first to discover the charms of Gulmarg[95] while flirting with Habba Khatun.[96] He was a poet of no mean order, a musician and an ardent lover of nature. He composed several excellent pieces of poetry and songs in Kashmiri, Hindi and Persian. While in India, he attended emperor Akbar's symposiums[97] and music parties where Tansen was also present.

Even so Yusuf Shah was not destined to walk through the alleys of pleasure undisturbed. The fault was primarily his own. He was unwise as man and tactless as king. His reign opened with civil wars and ended with the loss of the independence of Kashmir and its annexation by Akbar.

Immediately after the death of his father, Yusuf Shah was called upon to fight out his claim for the throne with his uncle Abdal Chak. He was drawn into it by the intrigues of Saiyid Mubarak Khan who aimed to usurp the throne himself. The issue was fought at Nawhatta.[98] Abdal Chak was defeated and killed.

The victory at Nawhatta established the claims of Yusuf Shah to the throne. He proclaimed himself king in 1579, with the title of Nasir-ud-din Muhammad Yusuf Badshah Ghazi.[99] Before long, however, he abandoned himself to a

94. *Baharistan*, f. 137b; *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, pp. 62-63
95. *Tarikh-i-Hasan* (Ms.), II, p. 434; Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 193
96. For Habba Khatun, see note 145 *infra*
97. *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 68
98. *Tabaqat*, pp. 629-30; Firishta, p. 365; Suka, p. 396; *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 64; *Baharistan*, ff. 138a, 138b
99. Coin 26, Plate II, *JASB*, 1885 (Rodgers, 'Sultans of Kashmir', *JASB*; 1885, p. 135)

life of ease and luxury, and neglected his duties to the state. It gave opportunity to his rivals, particularly Saiyid Mubarak Khan, to once more rise against him, and the country fell into chaos.

Saiyid Mubarak Khan was the last known important member of the once powerful family of the Baihaqi Saiyids. They had fallen on bad days socially as well as politically since they were defeated by the Kashmiris in 1484. However, Saiyid Mubarak[100] had been able to gain public esteem and acted as counsellor to Sultan Ali Shah. In this capacity he had got torturous punishments like cutting off limbs, gouging out eyes, etc. removed from the penal code of the state. Then he threw in his lot with Yusuf Shah in the civil war between Yusuf Shah and Abdal Chak. Another view[101] is that he had forced war upon Yusuf Shah. We are inclined to support the latter view, because soon after the death of Abdal Chak, Yusuf Shah was occupied with the rebellion of Saiyid Mubarak which cost him the throne. After the death of Abdal Chak, Saiyid Mubarak Khan came out as the strongest and most influential leader. All this was too much for him to digest. As a matter of fact, before long he began to manifest symptoms of mental restlessness to wrest the throne himself. Under the circumstances war became unavoidable. And the foolish and tactless Yusuf Shah precipitated the crisis when he rejected the advice of his ministers[102] to win over the Saiyid's chief supporters by granting them jagirs and jobs. The king preferred danger to diplomacy, and the result was the second civil war.[103] Yusuf Shah was defeated by Saiyid Mubarak Baihaqi at the field of Idgah in Srinagar. Then he fled the country for safety.

Saiyid Mubarak Shah

Saiyid Mubarak Baihaqi occupied the throne in 1579.

100. *Baharistan*, ff. 137-40
101. *Tabaqat*, pp. 629-30; Firishta, II, p. 365
102. *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 65
103. *Baharistan*, ff. 139-40

He proved to be a worse fool than Yusuf Shah which hastened his downfall. He acted too arrogantly and independently. He committed a great political blunder when he put in prison Ali Chak and Nauroz Chak who had been his chief supporters against Yusuf Shah, before he had consolidated his rule. Thus he antagonised the Chaks, when Kashmiris were already unsympathetic to him. They raised a revolt under the leadership of Lohar Chak and Saiyid Mubarak Baihaqi was compelled to abdicate in favour of Lohar Chak. He had ruled hardly for a month and a half.[104]

Lohar Shah Chak (1579-80)

Lohar Chak was a cousin of Yusuf Shah. He ruled for one year only.[105] Even in this short time he was able to render his reign economically one of the happiest periods in the history of the independent sultans. He made food abundant and cheap. The price of *shali* fell so low that a *kharwar* cost only a copper pice weighing 1½ tolas.[106] To this day the term *lohar mund*,[107] by which was meant a large loaf of bread costing only a few cowries, commemo-

104. Suka, p. 397; *Akbarnama*, *op. cit.*, III, p. 288; *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 67

105. No coins of Saiyid Mubarak or Lohar Chak have been traced so far. Rodgers writes: 'I propose identifying coin No. 38, plate III, as one of Lohar Chak. The name on it is neither Lohar or Gohar, but some name ending in 'E' and perhaps the name is *"Badu-al-Din"*. It is a new name to Kashmir history no matter what it is — of course, it is the name and title of Lohar Shah on ascending the throne' (Rodgers, 'Sultans of Kashmir', *JASB*, 1885, p. 136). I differ from Rodgers, because when the coin in question is carefully examined on its obverse we read *'Muhammad Nasiraldin*—A. E.' and on the reverse 987 A.H. (1579-80). I cannot therefore identify the name as *'Badu-al-Din'*. Rather I prefer to read *Muhammad Nasiral din Ghazi* or *Nasiraldin Muhammad Ghazi*. If we mark coin 26 (plate I), coin 34 (plate III) and coins 35 and 37 (plate III), we find all coins with *Nasiraldin Muhammad Ghazi* with the year 987 on two (coins 26 and 34). From this we may infer that the coin is either of Yusuf Shah or, if of Lohar Shah, then the title he assumed was *Nasiraldin Muhammad Ghazi*

106. *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 68; *Narayan Kaul*, f. 69a

107. *Tarikh-i-Azam*, p. 80; *Tarikh-i-Hasan* (Ms), p. 448

rates the era of economic abundance that Kashmir had in the reign of Lohar Shah.

VIII

RESTORATION OF YUSUF SHAH (1580-86)

His defeat it seems enthused Yusuf Shah with courage and determination. He did not lie down like a coward. He went straight to Fatehpur Sikri[108] and presented himself before emperor Akbar on 3 January 1580,[109] as a humble petitioner for refuge and help. Akbar, who had since long been looking for such an opportunity, turned it to his advantage. He ordered Raja Man Singh and Mirza Yusuf Khan Rizwi to march on Kashmir and restore Yusuf Shah to the throne.[110] It so happened that at Lahore Yusuf Shah got disgusted with the attitude of Raja Man Singh because he did not find him earnest enough to undertake the campaign of Kashmir as it appeared to him quite hazardous. Consequently, Yusuf Shah managed to escape from the Mughal escort. He joined his Kashmiri followers led by his former prime minister, Muhammad Bhat, waiting for him in Lahore. Before long they managed to escape to Bhimbar, and were out of the reach of the Mughals.

In the meantime, curiously enough as if telepathically, the news that Yusuf Shah was coming with Mughal troops to reoccupy the throne had spread in Kashmir like wild-fire. The Kashmiris were alarmed and Lohar Shah Chak and his supporters dreading worst consequences approached Yusuf Shah with the alternative proposal.[111] They offered the throne to him on the condition that he would return to his country unaccompanied by the Mughal troops.

Now Yusuf Shah found himself on the horns of a

108. *Tabaqat*, p. 630; Firishta, p. 366

109. *Ibid; Camb. Hist. India*, III, p. 282. *Baharistan* states that Yusuf Shah sought the aid of Akbar through a cousin of Saiyid Mubarak. (*Baharistan*, f. 156b)

110. *Baharistan*, f. 157a; *Tabaqat*, p. 631

111. *Tabaqat*, p. 631; *Baharistan*, ff. 157b-58b

dilemma. Whether he should invade Kashmir with the help of the Mughals and then lose his country's independence, or he should rely on the promises of the Kashmiri leaders and regain the throne without shedding the blood of his subjects or causing them any distress. However, he preferred the latter alternative. Having decided on this course he proceeded towards Kashmir with a small contingent of troops which he had raised locally on his way from Lahore. No sooner he was within the state boundary than he realised the perfidy of Lohar Chak. He found that the road had been barricaded and at several places guarded by strong pickets. But Yusuf Shah and his loyal followers were not able to way-lay the enemy till they reached Sopur on 8 November 1580,[112] without any mishap. Here Lohar Chak confronted him; but he lost the battle and became a captive along with his chief adherents. Yusuf Shah once more mounted the throne of Kashmir.

Internal Consolidation

During his exile Yusuf Shah, it seems, had learnt much but forgotten nothing. Once he reoccupied the throne he aimed to rule peacefully. But this could not be possible while his enemies remained at large. He consolidated his position thoroughly and then intimidated his enemies and rendered them politically ineffective. His policy was strike at the trunk and the branches will fall off themselves. He gouged out the eyes of Lohar Shah,[113] impaled him and then cast him into prison along with his followers. But Saiyid Mubarak Khan[114] was not molested at all because some of his relations wielded much influence at the court of Akbar. In fact, he treated him like a friend and gave his daughter in marriage to his son. And, perhaps, to please Akbar, or to imitate some aspects of his administrative policy, he abolished

112. *Akbarnama* (Beveridge), III, p. 465-66; *Tabaqat*, p. 631; Firishta, II, p. 366; Suka, p. 397; *Baharistan*, f. 159a; *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 70; Haig, *Camb. Hist. India*, III, p. 292

113. *Ibid.*

114. *Baharistan*, ff. 156a-66a; *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, p. 455

all cruel taxes,[115] for instance, *mirbahri* (tax on boatmen), *begar* (forced labour) and *jizia*. So he was able to establish peace and tranquillity and put down revolts in the valley and in the distant provinces of Ladakh and Kishtwar.[116]

Akbar and Kashmir

But happy at home Yusuf Shah was not destined to be happy in his foreign relations. His main source of anxiety was emperor Akbar whom he had deceived lately. Once the emperor started taking serious interest in the affairs of Kashmir, it portended danger for its ruler. The matters came to a head in 1581, when Akbar returned from Kabul. On reaching Jalalabad he deputed Mirza Tahir and Saleh Diwana as his envoys[117] to Kashmir. This was his third political mission to Kashmir. When the envoys reached Baramulla, Yusuf Shah received them warmly. He kissed the emperor's letter[118] and then placed it in his turban as an object of great reverence. He acknowledged the paramountcy of the emperor much against the counsels of his ministers. Then, on his part too he sent to court his minor son Haidar Khan[119] loaded with presents in the company

115. *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik,* p. 78

116. *Tabaqat,* p. 631; *Baharistan,* ff. 167a-68a; *Tarikh-i-Azam,* p. 81; *Tarikh-i-Hasan* (Ms), p. 455

117. *Tabaqat, Ibid.*

118. Firishta, p. 367; Sujan Rai, *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh,* p. 395. Haidar Malik abuses the Kashmiri nobles for their narrow outlook and ignorance of the world beyond Kashmir. Then he describes the contents of Akbar's letter in these words:

'If you actually consider yourself as my devoted and sincere protege, beware of your arrogance and audacity which took you back to your country, and ever since you never cared to write to my Majesty about your country. Even though you should have vanquished your enemies, all the same you are commanded to present yourself at my Majesty's court.' (*Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik,* p. 79)

119. *Tabaqat,* p. 361; Firishta, p. 367; *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik,* 79. Suka writes in the same strain. He says, 'Yasobba (Yusuf) sent his son to serve King Jalaluddin (Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Akbar Badshah). But when he (Jalaluddin) saw the presents given to him he felt a desire to subdue Kashmir and gave orders to Bhagwan Das and others to conquer Kashmir.' (Suka, p. 399). Von Noer wrongly states that Yusuf Shah had

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of Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi Kashmiri.[120] Nevertheless, Saleh Diwana on his return reported to Akbar that Yusuf Shah had established himself firmly and independently.[121] Akbar was so annoyed that he sent back Haidar Khan in 1582 as he found him unfit for the imperial military service, and at the same time reminded Yusuf Shah of the obligations under which he lay to him.[122]

Soon after the departure of Akbar's envoys Haidar Chak[123] and Shams Chak, two powerful Chak leaders, raised civil disturbances which occupied Yusuf Shah for about two years. As soon as he was able to restore order in 1584, he sent to court his eldest son Yaqub Khan with presents.[124] But representation by proxy became a subject of great criticism against him. Thereupon, Yusuf Shah,[125] fearing grave

deputed his two sons, Yaqub and Haidar, to the court. He mistakes Prince Yaqub for Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi Kashmiri. (Von Noer, *Akbar*, p. 190)

120. Shaikh Yaqub Kashmiri *alias* Sarfi was born in 1522. From his birth he manifested indications of a genius. In his youthful days he had gone to Samarqand where he acquired education. Thereafter he displayed the accomplishments of learning and the perfect qualities which distinguish a pious man. He was the spiritual successor of the great master Shaikh Husaini of Khurasan. He gave instructions in the traditions of Prophet Muhammad, and in the robes of a Shaikh, he travelled much and visited most of the Shaikhs of Arabia and Persia, and received authority to assume the prerogative of a religious teacher and a spiritual guide. In this capacity he made many disciples in Hindustan and Kashmir. He had written some treatises on mysticism of the Sufis with a commentary. He had written sublime and beautiful works and completed a *Khamsa*. He is remembered as the second Jami. He remained anti-Shia and anti-Chak. He helped and guided Akbar's officers for the conquest of Kashmir. He returned to Kashmir after its annexation by Akbar with his permission, and died there on 25 July 1595. (Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* (text), Vol. III, pp. 142-44; *Tarikh-i-Azam*, pp. 93-94)

121. *Ain* (Blochmann), p. 535

122. *Ibid.*

123. *Tabaqat*, p. 631; Firishta, p. 367. Von Noer mistakes this Haidar Chak for Prince Haidar (Von Noer, *op. cit.*, p. 190). This Haidar Chak was, in fact, a member of the party of Lohar Chak and Abdal Khan, who had opposed Yusuf Shah since he was dethroned. (*Baharistan*, f. 155b; Suka, p. 398)

124. *Tabaqat*, p. 631; *Ain* (Blochmann), p. 535; Firishta, p. 467; Von Noer, *Ibid.*, p. 190; Haig, *Camb. Hist. India*, III, p. 293

125. *Ain*, *Ibid.*

consequences, hesitated to present himself before Akbar at Lahore in 1585. At the same time Yaqub Khan who was in the camp of the emperor at Lahore informed his father that the emperor intended to pay a visit to Kashmir.[126] Akbar, however, did not visit Kashmir. Instead he sent Hakim Ali Jilani and Bha-ud-din Kumbu, as his envoys, for the fourth time, on 19 October 1585.[127] Meanwhile Yaqub Khan[128] apprehending danger fled from Lahore and returned to Kashmir. His conduct spoiled the case of Yusuf Shah beyond repair. To avoid the inevitable, Yusuf Shah expressed his readiness to pay homage to the emperor, when his nobles threatened to dethrone him if he did so.[129]

Yusuf Shah's Captivity

As a result of these developments, the relations between the sultan and the emperor could not improve. They became more and more strained. Annoyed with Yusuf Shah's dilly-dallying tactics to comply with his commands, Akbar treated it as a challenge to his authority. Accordingly, on 20 December 1585 he despatched an army of 5,000 strong under the command of Raja Bhagwan Das,[130] Mirza Shah Rukh and Shah Quli Mahram, and Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi Kashmiri and

126. *Tabaqat*, p. 631; Firishta, p. 367; Von Noer, *op. cit.*, p. 190

127. *Akbarnama*, *op. cit.*, p. 707; Von Noer, *Ibid.*

Hakim Ali Jilani was a Persian and came to Akbar in a destitute condition. Subsequently he rose to the status of a personal attendant. He is best remembered as the engineer who constructed the wonderful *hauz* (reservoir) in which a staircase went to its bottom from where a passage led to an adjoining room in the reservoir itself. The *hauz* is mentioned by Mughal historians and Jahangir. (*Ain* (Blochmann), pp. 519-21)

128. *Akbarnama*, *op. cit.*, p. 707; *Baharistan*, f. 174a. According to Haidar Malik, Yaqub fled from Khawaspur, which is situated between Lahore and Attock. *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 82; see also Beveridge's note, *Akbarnama*, *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 707

129. *Tabaqat*, p. 632; Firishta, II, p. 367

130. Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II (Lowe), p. 360. Haidar Malik and Muhammad Azam wrongly count fifty thousand (*Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 85; *Tarikh-i-Azam*, p. 82). Von Noer also supports Nizam-ud-din (Von Noer, *op. cit.*, p. 191)

Haidar Chak acted as their guides[131] However, due to bitter cold and heavy snowfall on the mountains surrounding the Kashmir valley and the Abbottabad-Mansehra terrain, the campaign ended in disaster.[132]

The Mughal generals had originally planned to enter the valley by way of Bhimbar,[133] because this route could be negotiated by large contingents of troops and horses, etc. Moreover, the attitude of the neighbouring zamindars was friendly and they had promised all assistance. Since the emperor was too anxious that the conquest of Kashmir should be effected without delay, he issued orders to the commanders of the troops to launch the campaign from Pakhli,[134] which is comparatively a shorter route and remains generally open during the winter. On receiving information that the imperial troops were advancing by way of Pakhli, Yusuf Shah, very indiscreetly and idiotically, despatched his troops to hold the pass against the Mughal army at Kuarmast.[135]

Both sides fought desperately. The position of the Mughals was rendered precarious by very severe cold, heavy rains

131. *Akbarnama*, *op. cit.*, p. 715. Badauni gives the date 5th *Zilhij* (18 November) (Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, *Ibid.*)

132. *Akbarnama*, *Ibid.*, pp. 715 et. sqq.; Von Noer, *op. cit.*, p. 191, et. sqq

133. Bhimbar (Lat. 32° 58′, Long. 74° 8′) is a small town situated in the plains on the right bank of the Bhimbar stream which flows into the Chinab near Wazirabad. It is about 29 miles north of Gujrat (West Punjab), 22 miles east of Jehlam (West Punjab) and 50 miles N.W. of Sialkot (West Punjab) and 150 miles from Srinagar by the Pir Panjal route. It was in those days the most suitable military road to Kashmir in fair weather (Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 148)

134. It is a hill track commonly called Pakhli now known as the Hazara district, and is connected with Kashmir *via* Muzaffarabad-Abbottabad-Mansehra road. It remains generally open during winter (*Ain* (Jarrett), II, pp. 347 and 390). For its topography, see *Tuzuk* (R&B), II, p. 126; Stein, *Anc. Geog.*, para 83; *Gazetteer of India*, XIX, p. 318

135. According to Abul Fazl it was the most difficult pass on this route (*Akbarnama* (Beveridge), p. 849). Jahangir who crossed it in April 1620 says that, 'The Kotal of Kuarmast is a difficult one and is the last of the Kotal's on the road.' (*Tuzuk* (R&B), II, p. 133). We are inclined to identify it with Buliyasa (See note 150 *infra*)

and snow storms, and scarcity of provisions caused them heavy losses in men and animals.[136] To avoid a wholesale catastrophe, Raja Bhagwan Das, hoping that formal submission by Yusuf Shah would satisfy the emperor, made peace with him and Yusuf Shah undertook to present himself at the court and proclaim the emperor his sovereign.[137] In all likelihood Yusuf Shah appears to have been more anxious to save his country and his subjects from harassment and destruction by the Mughal army. So he quietly slipped into the imperial camp on 14 February 1586.[138] He was presented to the emperor by Raja Bhagwan Das on 28 March 1586. But against all expectations, he found himself a prisoner in the charge of Raja Todar Mal, in sackcloth and ashes.[139]

Yusuf Shah remained a political prisoner for about two years.[140] He was, however, set at liberty when Kashmir was fully and finally annexed to the empire of Akbar. But he was not allowed to return to Kashmir to avoid recrudescence of civil strife or rebellion. He was granted a humble jagir in Bihar and made a commander of 500.[141] He served in Bengal also and accompanied Raja Man Singh to subjugate

136. *Akbarnama, Ibid.*, p. 724; *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 89; *Tarikh-i-Azam*, p. 82; *Baharistan*, f. 177a

137. *Akbarnama, Ibid.*; *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 90; *Tarikh-i-Azam*, p. 82; *Baharistan*, f. 177b

138. *Akbarnama, Ibid.*

139. *Ibid.*, pp. 38-39

140. He remained in political captivity from 28 March 1586 to October 1587, i.e. for one year and seven months. Abul Fazl says that on his release Yusuf Shah was treated with favour and was given a jagir in Bihar, and made a commander of 500 under Kaunwar Man Singh; the sole desire of His Majesty was that he should learn the proprieties, cherish his subjects and be of awakened mind. When his conduct showed marks of prudence, the delightful country of Kashmir would be made over to him (*Akbarnama* (text), III, p. 547). This hope was never realised although Yusuf remained a very devoted and loyal servant until his death

141. *Akbarnama, Ibid.*, But Haidar Malik writes: 'Yusuf Shah having been released from captivity, and sanctioned an annuity of 3,600 rupees, was entrusted to Raja Bhagwan Das in Bengal.' *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 90

Orissa. He died on Wednesday, 11 September 1592, and was buried in Bihar.[142]

Yusuf Shah's captivity, even according to existing canons of justice and diplomacy, was high-handed cruelty. It negated the basic terms of the treaty which was concluded between him and Raja Bhagwan Das, the accredited representative of emperor Akbar. The repudiation of the treaty which may appear wanton and arbitrary to us now was in no way an extraordinary phenomenon considering the times. There was nothing unusual in it. What, in fact, gives it an extraordinary interest is that it was repudiated by a man like Akbar after he had himself ratified the terms.[143] Wrathful and relentless as he had grown with impatience about the fate of Kashmir, and the dilly-dallying conduct of Yusuf Shah, he had every reason to behave as a coercionist. While for him it was the big question of imperial prestige and anxiety to rid the Kashmiris of their abhorrent, cruel, narrow-minded, visionless and selfish rulers, for Yusuf Shah it was the question, pure and simple, of the independence of Kashmir and his narrow self-interest. And Akbar came out triumphant as he had to, like a lion over a kid, but after he had totally opted out of his moral responsibility for which his conduct remains indefensible. To the crazy and emotional Raja Bhagwan Das, too, the conduct of Akbar did not appeal, for as a protest, he made an attempt to commit suicide.[144] And so unbearable and disgusting was the question

142. The *Baharistan-i-Shahi* records:

'Yusuf Shah, who possessed generous and liberal sentiments, gave away all he had in cash, ornaments and other property. People who were not familiar with these traits of his character caused disturbances in his mind. Accordingly after the victory of Orissa, he fell ill on the morning of Tuesday, in the month of *Zilhij* and died at night on Wednesday, the 14 Rabial awwal (1000 A.H.). His dead body was carried by Shah Abul Maali from Jagarnath to Bihar and buried there on 23 Rabial awwal.' (*Baharistan*, ff. 200a-200b)

143. *Akbarnama* (Beveridge), Vol. III, p. 724

144. Badauni writes: 'When the emperor had imprisoned Yusuf Shah Kashmiri, who had come under the safe conduct of Raja Bhagwan Das and wished to have him put to death, Raja Bhagwan Das in order to save his conduct and sense of honour, struck himself with a dagger.'

of separation to Habba Khatun,[145] the loving, doting and accomplished queen of Yusuf Shah, that she became a

(Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II (Lowe), p. 364). The author of the *Baharistan* supports Badauni (*Baharistan*, ff. 177b-78a). Abul Fazl, on the other hand, states that the Raja had gone mad. (*Akbarnama*, *Ibid.*, pp. 742-43 and footnotes)

145. Habba Khatun is regarded as the greatest and most popular lady of romance known to medieval Kashmir. 'Zun', for that was her maiden name, was born in village Chandrahar, in the vicinity of the famous saffron fields of Pampur. She was a gifted lady of exceeding beauty, accomplishment and charm, and possessed a loving heart and a ravishing voice. Born in the middle-class peasantry of Kashmir, she was fortunate to have received education from the family maulavi, and in a short time, was able to recite the *Quran*. She could also speak and write Arabic and Persian. But her happy maiden life was destroyed when she was married to an idiot whom she divorced soon. Thereafter, she continued to live an unhappy and miserable life with her parents tending cattle in woods, and pastures and singing the still popular Kashmiri songs which she uttered extempore. Time, however assuaged her grief for once, while she was tending the cattle and singing all by herself, Yusuf Shah heard her only to lose himself. Subsequently, he married her, and for several years they lived very happily, and as a queen she became known as Habba Khatun or 'Lady of Love'.

But the romantic couple was not destined to walk through the alleys of life undisturbed. Their troubles started when Yusuf Shah was forced to quit Kashmir in 1579. They, however, reunited subsequently; but they never met again after 14 February 1586. Her extant Kashmiri songs of love and lamentation are perhaps peerless. She is great because, like her greater ancestor 'Lal Ded', tradition has preserved her name, her history and her songs and her *Shikayats*. She can justly be regarded as the pride of Kashmiri womanhood. She castigates society because it was the society which had crushed the rose of her life. She gives utterance to these feelings in her songs which are very touching, unaffected and spontaneous. She introduces us to the social conditions of her times when all that was lovable and laudable in her sex was being ignored, nay carelessly rejected. She would certainly have died an unknown *pardah nishin*, but for the happy event which introduced her to the most romantic sultan of her time. After his perpetual incarceration in Bihar, she rendered herself and her steadfastness for him immortal by becoming a devotee of the Almighty. Kashmir has not to quote Laleshwari and Habba Khatun only. There are some other luminaries among the women of Kashmir whose activities, wordly and spiritual, are still shrouded in tradition and need to be told. (See Birbal Kachru, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* (Ms.), pp. 89-90; Hasan, *Tawarikh-i-Kashmir* (Ms.), pp. 433-34)

faqir. Her extant hermitage at Pand Chuk[146] is still regarded as a place of *ziarat* by the Kashmiris.

At the same time, we cannot overlook the other side of the medal while considering the intentions and purposes of Akbar as far as Kashmir was concerned. Driven by curiosity as well as anxiety of a long standing, Akbar appears to have made a mountain of a molehill. The Mughal historians had already started a derogatory propaganda against independent Kashmir. For example, they described Yusuf Shah simply as 'Yusuf Khan',[147] meaning thereby that he was only a zamindar, and not an independent sultan. Undeniably Akbar's historians were attempting to please him because he had an axe to grind. In the first place, sovereignty over Kashmir meant to Akbar fulfilment of the wishes of Babar and Humayun. Secondly, Akbar had a great political purpose in the subjugation and annexation of Kashmir since its occupation gave him direct access to Afghanistan and Central Asia. In 1586 he appeared too anxious to effect its conquest as expeditiously as possible in order to demonstrate the vastness of his empire and his military resources. Particularly, to Mir Quraish, the envoy of the Turanian king, Abdullah Khan Uzbeg,[148] whose evil designs upon India were an open secret. Eventually the whole proceeding proved the triumph of Akbar's diplomacy.

But history has nothing to offer in defence of Yusuf Shah. He lost his case because he remained pusillanimous, petty-minded, visionless and grossly selfish. Idiotically, he toyed with the mighty and great Akbar, particularly when he owed the throne to him. If ultimately he paid a very heavy penalty for his backsliding and ungrateful conduct, he deserved the fate.

146. Pand Chuk (Lat. 34° 2′, Long. 74° 56′) is a village situated on the right bank of the Jehlam about five miles south-east of Srinagar

147. *Tabaqat*, pp. 630-32; Firishta, pp. 366-67; Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* (Lowe), Vol. II, pp. 363-64; *Akbarnama, op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 723-801; *Tuzuk* (R&B), II, p. 132

148. Von Noer, *op. cit.*, pp. 185 and 193-94. For Abdullah Khan, 1556-98, see V. A. Smith, *Akbar*, pp. 290-91

On the other hand, for the restless, stubborn and freedom-loving leaders of Kashmir, the impulse for freedom remained unaffected. With them it remained a tryst with destiny. They continued to engage the Mughals in pitched battles and guerrilla warfare, when Yusuf Shah deserted them and left them to their own fate, with tough drive and at very great risks. However, they lost their independence but after they had inflicted heavy casualties upon the Mughals and caused them much headache.

Soon, the annoyed and revengeful Mughals inflicted the heaviest retributions upon them. They carried fire and sword into their homes and hearths, and they destroyed their martial spirit. They converted Srinagar into a Mughal cantonment and its buildings into barracks for the army of occupation. Thus they caused much panic and distress to the population. For the faults of some—the Chaks mainly—all Kashmiris were stigmatised; they were painted in blackest colour, and instead of conciliation, the Mughals created an atmosphere of animosity and hate. What is more, they equated them with Afghans and Kumbus, as a selfish, wicked and ungrateful people.[149]

As far as Akbar was concerned, the annexation of the 'charming garden' of Kashmir was necessary; it was imperative; it was unavoidable. And he accomplished it, liquidating

149. Attention may be drawn to the following derogatory slang current since the time the Mughal army of Akbar suffered great hardships and difficulties to subjugate Kashmir:

'Aghar qahat-ur-razal uftad
Az an seh mihr kamjui
Awwal Kumbu, duyum Afghan, siyum badzat Kashmiri.
Zeh Kumbu hila me ayad
Zeh Afghan kina me ayad
Zeh Kashmiri na me ayad bajuz anduh wa dilgiri.'

Translation:

'If there is widespread devastating famine, do not expect assistance from three people—first, Kumbus; second, Afghans and third, Kashmiris. (Because) the Kumbus are well known for cunning; the Afghans are well known for spite. But Kashmiris only know how to recount their miseries and afflictions (to win your sympathy)'

all rapacious and turbulent elements simultaneously. Gradually the life and thought of the Kashmiris began to be transformed. Their vision broadened and their outlook widened. Slowly they began to identify themselves with and became part and parcel of the mainstream of the society, culture, economy and polity of Mughal India.

But the immediate effect of annexation was imperial preference in all walks of life. Kashmiris were relegated to a very insignificant position. They were treated as conquered people; and like all defeated people they lost their splendid isolationism, their independence, their self-respect and their martial bearing.

IX

THE PARTING OF WAYS (1585-86)

Once Yusuf Shah deserted his troops and slipped away into the Mughal camp at Buliyasa,[150] he was declared to have forfeited his claim to the throne. As his decision was

150. At a distance of more than two miles below Dyargul in Baramulla (Kashmir) is situated an extant village known to the Paharis by the name of *'Peliasa'* and to the Kashmiris as *'Buliyasa'*. It is the Bolyasaka of the *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana (*Rajat*, V, p. 225; Stein, *Anc. Geog.*, para 53). Badauni mentions it as Phulbas (Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II, (Lowe), p. 363). Nizam-ud-din mentions it as Bhuliyas (Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, Vol. V, p. 452). Firishta calls it Bhulbas (Firishta, p. 367). Jahangir names it Bhulbas (*Tuzuk* (R&B), II, pp. 131-32 and 140). It is the 'Peliasa' of the maps, situated in the Kathai tehsil on the right bank of the Jehlam between Uri and Domel (Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 307). Jahangir locates it eleven *koss* on the Kashmir side of the Kishanganga river and concludes: 'In the same kotah of Bhulbas, Yaqub, son of Yusuf Khan Kashmiri, fought with the victorious army of my father of which Raja Bhagwan Das, the father of Raja Man Singh, was the leader' (*Tuzuk* (R&B), Vol. II, p. 132). He adds that the boundary of Kashmir is Buliyasa (*Ibid.*, p. 141). Abul Fazl mentions it as the end of Kashmir (*Akbarnama*, *op. cit.*, Vol.. III, p. 850). According to Stein, the Jehlam valley below Baramulla was held as an outlying frontier tract as far as Buliyasa. It is exactly a few miles below this place that the first serious difficulties are encountered on the road leading to the Kashmir valley. It has strategically an advantageous position against outside aggressions. (Stein, *Rajat*, Vol. II, p. 403, Note 28)

contrary to the wishes of the parochial, visionless and quarrelsome nobles, they proclaimed his son, Yaqub Khan, sultan instead. Under his banner they put up a strenuous fight against the Mughals at Kuarmast. The Mughals suffered terribly as a result of the inclement weather. But once the zamindars of Kuarmast and Karna threw in their lot with the Mughals under the moral persuasion and influence of Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi Kashmiri, the Kashmiri leaders realised that they were fighting a losing game.[151] To save the situation from getting hopeless they accepted peace on 14 February 1586, on the following terms:[152]

(i) To proclaim emperor Akbar sovereign of Kashmir and to recite the *khutba* and mint coins in his name; and

(ii) to reserve the departments of mint, hunting (*shikar*), saffron and shawl as imperial monopoly.

Thereafter Yaqub Khan was proclaimed sultan with the title of Nasir-ud-din Muhammad Yaqub Badshah Ghazi.[153] He was a man of a different stamp from his father. He was a brave fighter, but a high-handed and fanatical Shia.[154] Soon his head was swollen and he repudiated the treaty. He 'became refractory when he heard of the confused condition

151. *Akbarnama, op. cit.*, III, p. 725. Karna (ancient Karnaha, Lat. 34° 14′ and 34° 26′, Long. 73° 50′ and 74°, *Rajat*, VIII, 2485) lies between the Kishanganga and the Kajnag range to the north-west of Kashmir, at present in Muzaffarabad (Azad Kashmir territory). It was then a tributary to Kashmir. (Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 229)

152. *Akbarnama, op. cit.*

153. Coins 35 and 37, Plate III, *JASB* 1885. They are both dated 992 A.H. (1584) when Yusuf Shah was the sultan. Rodgers is not correct when he says that they agree with the account (*JASB*, 1885, p. 139). Abul Fazl says that Yaqub proclaimed himself king with the title of Shah Ismail (*Akbarnama, op. cit.*, p. 762)

154. Badauni writes that, on account of his bigotry for the Shia heresy, Yaqub Shah had killed the Sunni qazi of that place with his own hands, laid schemes for disaffection, and gathered round him the servants of his father, and considered his father as good as dead. He was altogether a bad fellow. (*Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II (Lowe), p. 365)

Haidar Malik writes: 'During his rule Yaqub Shah did nothing which is commendable. Firstly, he brought upon himself (the wrath of) such a

of the victorious army and abolished the treaty. Flatterers induced him to take the title of Shah Ismail. He then took evil ways to virtuous and by his tyrannical exactions stirred up the heart of the people against himself. He did not do the work of the world and took part in religious dissensions reviving the Shia-Sunni disputes. He molested many and set himself to vex the Sunnis. He put to death the aged Qazi Musa, the leader of the Sunnis, and had his home and house plundered.'[155]

Qasim Khan's Invasion (1586)

But Akbar refused to ratify the treaty made by Raja Todar Mal and wreaked further vengeance upon the former king Yusuf Shah by treating him as a political prisoner.[156] The Kashmiri leaders, on their part, also treated the treaty in the same spirit. They spread turmoil and distress in the country. However, Akbar, who had set his heart upon complete and unconditional conquest of Kashmir, despatched Qasim Khan Mir Bahr on 28 June 1586, with a large army and experienced officers, to overthrow Yaqub and annex Kashmir.[157] At the same time, he gave them strict orders 'to practise enlightenment, justice, non-sufferance or wickedness and the accepting of apologies and the chastisement of the evil'.[158]

mighty emperor (as Akbar) when he was arrogant enough to close passes and raise barricades (against the imperialists). Secondly, he became exceedingly cruel and merciless which turned his subjects against him. Thirdly, he became a thorough communalist. Fourthly, he disgraced and distrusted his nobles and chiefs' (*Tarikh-i-Haidar, Malik*, p. 92; *Tarikh-i-Narayan Kaul*. f. 75b). The author of the *Baharistan* adds that the assassination of Qazi Musa was the turning point in the career of Yaqub Shah. It was the harbinger of his downfall. (*Baharistan*, ff. 181a and 181b; Suka, p. 403)

155. *Akbarnama, op. cit.*, pp. 762-63

156. *Ibid.*, pp. 789 and 752; Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II (Lowe), pp. 464-65; Von Noer, *op. cit.*, p. 192; Haig, *Camb. Hist. India*, III, p. 293; *JRAS*, 1918, p. 463

157. *Akbarnama, op. cit.*, p. 752; Suka, p. 403

158. *Akbarnama, op. cit.*, p. 753

The Mughal troops crossed Bhimbar on 1 September 1586.[159] At Bhimbar, and then at Rajauri, they were reinforced and guided by local zamindars and nayaks, who were the wardens of the high-road to Kashmir over the Pir Panjal[160] mountain. They had been bribed by the Mughal leaders with promises of rank and land. They deserted their own sultan, and opened the passes to the Mughals. From Rajauri to Hastivanj,[161] the progress of the invading army was rendered exceedingly difficult, and at places like Kapartal and Akrambal,[162] quite dangerous, by the relentless weather and the barricades erected here and there at strategical points by the Kashmir army. Then their guides behaved treacherously. Nevertheless, the Mughal troops surmounted all difficulties and dangers till they reached Hastivanj.

Meanwhile, internally the conditions in Kashmir had gone into chaos. Yaqub had been compelled by his ministers to relinquish the reins of government. He took shelter in Kishtwar. His absence made confusion worse confounded because each leader in his own turn made a bid for the throne, till the country was torn up between the parties of

159. *Ibid.*, p. 764

160. *Ibid.*; Suka, p. 405

161. Dr. Stein writes: 'At a distance of about four miles above Kamalankoth and close to the Mughal Serai of Aliabad we arrive at a point where a high mountain sloping down from the south towards the valley in a wall of precipitous cliffs. The ridge is known as Hastivanj' (Stein, *Anc. Geog.*, para 43; *Ain* (Jarrett), II, pp. 347 sqq. and note 3, p. 347). Dr. Stein adds that 'Hasti Vatr' in the text of Abul Fazl is a clerical error for Hastivanj. Beveridge holds that the mistake appears to be of Abul Fazl himself and not of his copyists, for all manuscripts appear to have 'Hasti Vatr', and it is not easy to reconcile 'Vatr' with 'Wang' or 'Bang' in writing (Beveridge's note 3, p. 766; *Akbarnama*, *op. cit.*). However, the author of the *Baharistan* has decided the issue since he mentions the place as 'Hastivanj' (*Baharistan*, f. 183b)

162. The two places are halting stations on the West Punjab side of the Pir Panjal mountain. Akrambal is Kandal of the maps (Beveridge, note, pp. 764-66, *Akbarnama*, Vol. III). The author of the *Baharistan* mentions the place as 'Kandabal' and Hasan as 'Kanabal', both names being variants of Akrambal

Shams Chak and Muhammad Bhat.[163] Still the Kashmiris gave a stubborn and tough fight to the Mughals on 10 October 1586 at Hastivanj.[164] The Mughals were repulsed with very heavy losses. But Qasim Khan like a dare-devil led his men against all opposition and danger, and succeeded in causing confusion in the ranks of the Kashmiris. They were dispersed.[165] Thereafter he despatched an advance regiment of troops to Srinagar and himself followed up entering the city on 16 October 1586.[166] On the same day he proclaimed Akbar sovereign of Kashmir.

163. *Akbarnama*, *op. cit.*, p. 769 sqq.; Suka, p. 407; *Baharistan*, ff. 182b, 183b

164. *Akbarnama*, *op. cit.*, p. 769

165. *Baharistan*, f. 184b; *Akbarnama*, *op. cit.*, p. 770

166. According to Haidar, Malik Qasim Khan made his first official entry in Srinagar, immediately after making the historic proclamation. This gives the date 20th *Mihr* which appears to be a clerical error. But Suka, who was an eye-witness of this event, places it on Sunday, the second lunar day of the bright fortnight of *Kartika* in the Saka year 1589 which gives 16 October 1586 (Suka, p. 47). Abul Fazl also mentions 25 *Mihr* which corresponds to 16 October (see *Akbarnama* (Beveridge), Vol. III, p. 770)

CHAPTER TEN

Kashmir Under The Mughals

QASIM KHAN MIR BAHR

WHEN QASIM KHAN[1] ENTERED SRINAGAR on 16 October 1586 and publicly proclaimed Akbar emperor of Kashmir and read the *khutba* and minted the coins in his name,[2] Kashmir ceased to be an independent state.

Nevertheless, the Kashmiri freedom fighters did not regard the occupation of Kashmir final and irrevocable. So long as Yaqub Shah remained at large the leaders of the freedom movement—Shams Chak, Yusuf Khan and Ibrahim Khan—had a leader and a cause. They brought Yaqub Shah from Kishtwar, proclaimed him sultan, and declared war against the Mughals at Chandrakot.[3] Qasim Khan despatched

1. He was the son of Mirza Dost's sister. Mirza Dost was an old servant of the Timurids. Qasim was a gallant hero having thrown himself in 1547 along with his brother from a tower in Kabul when they were besieged by Kamran and reached Humayun. At his accession Akbar appointed him a *mansabdar* of 3,000, and superintendent of the Agra Fort while it was under construction. In 1586, he was sent to conquer Kashmir. He entered Srinagar in triumph after forcing Yaqub Shah Chak, the reigning king, to flee. Even so, Yaqub never allowed him to administer the country peacefully, and compelled him to resign in 1587. He was succeeded by Mirza Yusuf Khan Rizwi. After his return from Kashmir, Qasim was appointed governor of Kabul and was murdered there in 1593. *Maasir-ul-Umara* (Bib. Ind.), III, pp. 670-71

2. *Baharistan*, f. 184b; *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, pp. 97-98. Some Persian chroniclers of Kashmir quote 994 A.H. (1586) as the date of Mughal occupation of Kashmir (*Tarikh-i-Azam* (Ms.), p. 85; *Tarikh-i-Hasan* (Ms.), p. 563). There are also coins of Akbar minted in Kashmir and bearing the date 994 A.H. (Rodgers, 'Rare Kashmir Coins', *JASB*, 1896 (I), Coin No. 14)

3. *Akbarnama*, *op. cit.*, III, p. 775; Von Noer, *op. cit.*, II, p. 204. Abul Fazl mentions the place as Chandrakot, situated at a distance of fourteen miles from Bijbihara. Azam also mentions the same place (*Tarikh-i-Azam*, p. 86). Haidar Malik mentions Chandankot (*Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*,

Mubarak Khan and Shaikh Daulat at the head of a large army to put them down. Finding themselves unequal in open conflict the Kashmiri leaders decided to take the city by surprise. They assembled their forces on the slopes of Koh-i-Sulaiman (Shankaracharya hillock). On 19 November 1586,[4] they made a night attack on the Mughal army in Srinagar. The Mughals fought so furiously that the Kashmiris became demoralised, and in sheer frustration resorted to scorched-earth policy. But it proved to be a blessing for the Mughals. The fire illuminated the scene of operations, and the Mughals spotted the Kashmiri troops so correctly that they shot dead many of them.[5]

Yaqub Shah was defeated. Once more he escaped to Kishtwar. Meanwhile, some of his chief adherents, realising discretion to be the better part of valour, submitted to Qasim Khan.[6] He sent them to court; and they were favourably treated by emperor Akbar.

Though an admirable commander, Qasim Khan acted like a bad statesman. Soon his triumphs swelled his head

p. 99). Suka, who was a contemporary of this event, writes: 'Yaqub returned from the country of Kashtavata (Kishtwar) accompanied by many men, with a view to overcome the Mughals. When Qasim Khan heard of this he too, with the object to conquer the enemy, marched out with horses and elephants. A great battle was fought between them in the country of Kshtra. The Mughals pressed on king Yaqub, but unperceived by them, he went towards the city' (Suka, p. 411). Kshtra of Suka may be identified with Chetero (Lat. 33° 26′, Long. 75° 40′), a village some 20 miles N.W. of Kishtwar on the road to Kashmir by the Marbal pass (Neve, *Guide*, p. 84).

The author of the *Baharistan* also mentions 'Kshtra' as the scene of action (*Baharistan*, f. 189a). It appears that Yaqub Shah fought several engagements at this time, and that of Kshtra was decisive

4. Von Noer, *op. cit.*, II, p. 205

5. *Akbarnama*, *op. cit.*, III, p. 776

6. Abul Fazl has preserved the names of the leading defectors. He mentions the names of Saiyid Mubarik, and the brothers of Yaqub Shah —Haidar Ali, Muhammad Husain, Ahmad Husain, Husain Khan Chak. Others were Husain Khan and Ibrahim Khan, the sons of Mubarik Khan; Muhammad Bhat and his sons; Ali Hasan, Baba Khalil and Baba Mahdi who were the leaders of the Kashmiris under the disguise of holy men; and Bahadur Ali, Bhakru (?) Lohar Chak, Mulla Hasan, and the sons of Haidar Chak (*Akbarnama*, *op. cit.*, p. 787)

and led him into improper desires.[7] He became oppressive. He suppressed the Kashmiris, arrested their chiefs, and compelled them to disgorge their assets, etc., which they had collected during the regime of Yaqub Shah. The Kashmiris submitted with bitterness. As soon as the winter was over and the snow had thawed, they rushed to Yaqub Shah and once more prevailed upon him to fight against the Mughals to a finish. They occupied the hill overlooking the Dull Lake, and a brisk conflict ensued. Though repulsed five times, they persisted still, and on the sixth occasion inflicted disaster on the Mughals.[8] Emboldened by this victory Yaqub Shah and Shams Chak—whom Abul Fazl, in a fit of rancour, called 'two scoundrels'[9]—with their large following, took shelter here, and not a day passed without some disturbance breaking out in some part of the country. 'In season and out of season they emerged and plundered. Every day a body of the imperialists came out to fight with them.'[10] Qasim Khan got so tired of these incessant annoyances that he submitted his resignation.[11] He was succeeded by Mirza Yusuf Khan Rizwi as governor of Kashmir.

II

MIRZA YUSUF KHAN RIZWI (1587-93)

Mirza Yusuf Khan[12] entered the valley after thwarting

7. *Ibid.*, p. 796
8. *Ibid.*, p. 797; Suka, p. 412. Suka's notice is reproduced by Haidar Malik (*Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 104)
9. Abul Fazl calls Shams Chak and Yaqub Shah, who upheld the cause of the independence of Kashmir to the end as 'two scoundrels' (*Akbarnama, op. cit.*, III, p. 798; Suka, p. 413)
10. *Akbarnama, ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*; text, III, p. 65
12. He was the son of Mir Ahmad Rizwi, who was a Saiyid of Mashed. He was much liked by Akbar. In 1585 he was appointed a *mansabdar* of 2,500 in Bihar. In 1587 he was sent to Kashmir to succeed Qasim Khan. He stayed in Kashmir from 1587 to 1593. On his transfer he was appointed 'darogha of topkhana'. In 1596 he served with Abul Fazl in the Deccan. He died in 1601 and his body was taken to Mashed where it was buried (*Maasir-ul-Umara*, III, pp. 314-21; *Ain* (Blochmann), pp. 346-47)

the plans[13] of the freedom fighters of Kashmir led by Yaqub Shah, and he struck terror in their heart. Yaqub Shah and Shams Chak were compelled to flee for safety. The former, once more, escaped to Kishtwar while the latter found refuge in Kamraz.

Mirza Yusuf Khan established peace in the country by pursuing a policy of conciliation which generally endeared him to the people.[14] Then he inflicted such a crushing defeat upon Shams Chak that he dared not rise again. He tendered his submission, and was sent to court. He was one of the great men of Kashmir, so his life was spared. He was treated favourably, and on 23 November 1492 his daughter entered the emperor's *harem*.[15]

Akbar's First Visit to Kashmir (1589)

Abul Fazl[16] tells us that Akbar always bore Kashmir in his mind and kept before his eyes its delightful climate. Now that the annexation of the country had been finally accomplished, he started on 27 April 1589, to pay his first visit to it. He selected the Bhimbar route. It was still quite difficult to tread and at places perilous for the imperial cavalcade. And he sent in advance 'three thousand stone-cutters, mountain-miners and splinterers of rocks and two thousand *beldars* (diggers) to level the ups and downs of the road'.[17] Akbar arrived at Bhimbar on 19 May 1589. From here he traversed the heights and depressions of the Pir Panjal route partly on horse and partly on foot, until

13. The rebellious elements in Kashmir had, on receipt of the news of the march of Yusuf Khan Rizwi and his army on Kashmir, barricaded the passes and enlisted the help of the Naiks who were the guardians of these passes. However, Yusuf Khan sent in advance Muhammad Bhat, Baba Khalil and Baba Taleh Isfahani, who were popular with the Kashmiris, with encouraging and conciliatory messages for them. Thereupon, the guardians of the passes withdrew, all the scheme of the Kashmiri freedom fell through (*Akbarnama, op. cit.*, p. 798)
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 798-90
15. *Ibid.*, p. 958
16. *Ibid.*, p. 817
17. *Ibid.*

he arived at Hirapur on 26 May. He entered Srinagar on 5 June 1589. Here he alighted at 8.25 a.m. at the official residence, a lofty palace, of Mirza Yusuf Khan.[18]

On this occasion Akbar remained in Kashmir up to the end of July. During this duration of about two months, he toured the valley by the river Jehlam on the *Takht-i-Rawan*,[19] which had been specially designed for him. He visited Pampur, Bijbihara, Anantnag, Nandmarg and Achabal on the one side, and Shahabuddinpur, Sopur and Baramulla on the other.[20]

Yaqub Shah Chak Submits

The most important event that occurred during his presence was the submission tendered by Yaqub Shah Chak. After the occupation of the country by Yusuf Khan Rizwi, he had once more sought refuge in Kishtwar. Here he passed his days in constant fear lest the zamindars should seize him and deliver him up to the Mughal governor. To avoid this fate, he sent his brother Aiba Khan Chak to pay his obeisance to the emperor. Aiba was granted audience on

18. *Ibid.*, p. 827

19 Abul Fazl writes: 'In the country (Kashmir) there were more than thirty thousand boats, but none fit for the world's lord, so able artificers soon prepared the river palaces (*Takht-i-Rawans*), and made flower gardens on the surface of the water' (*Ibid.*, p. 835). The *Takht-i-Rawans* were also used by Shahjahan when he went for sight-seeing on the Jehlam river

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 836-47. All these places, except Nandmarg and Achabal, are considerable towns situated on the bank of the Jehlam.

Nandmarg (Lat. 33° 23′, Long. 75° 24′) is a pass crossing the Pir Panjal range at the south-east extremity of Shahabad. It remains usually open from May until the end of October (Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 287).

Achabal (Lat. 33° 41′, Long. 75° 17′), situated in Kuthiar paragana, also called Begamabad or Sahibabad, is at a distance of six miles S.W. of Anantnag. It is celebrated for a magnificent spring—the largest in Kashmir. It is supposed that the spring is formed by the reappearance of the river Bringi which suddenly disappears through a large fissure some miles to the eastward (Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 117; Bernier, *Travels*, p. 384; *Ain*, (Jarrett), Vol. II, p. 358; *Amal-i-Saleh* (Bib. Ind), II, p. 41; Villier-Stuart, *Gardens of the Mughals*, pp. 190-198)

11 July 1589 at Nandmarg.[21] Here he submitted the following petition on behalf of his brother Yaqub to the emperor, and succeeded to plead for him:

'On account of the intoxication of youth, and intimacy with wicked men, what had occurred, had occurred. Now the whirlpool of repentance had taken possession of him. His prayer now was that His Majesty would send him his special slipper so that he might place it on the crown of his head, and prostrate himself at the holy (emperor's) threshold.'[22]

The emperor accepted Yaqub's apology, and granted him audience on 28 July 1589. Then he despatched him to Bihar to remain along with his father under the custody of Raja Man Singh, the governor. The raja granted him a humble jagir in Behera (Patna) for maintenance, and both father and son eked out their miserable life for a couple of years. But while the father died a natural death on 11 September 1592, Yaqub was killed by poison on 5 October 1593.[23]

The last phase of Yaqub Khan's life is differently narrated. According to the local contemporary chronicler Suka, 'Yaqub took refuge with the king (Akbar) as he had proposed to do, and the king made him an attendant of Mana Sinha (Raja Man Singh). He went out of the country and

21. *Akbarnama, ibid.*, p. 839

22. *Ibid.*, p. 846. Suka, a contemporary of these events, writes: 'Yaqubha came to take refuge at the feet of Jalal-ud-din (Muhammad Akbar Badshah) by whose shoes Yaqub's head was hallowed' (Suka, p. 418). Haidar Ma'ik supports him (*Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 109). On the other hand, the author of the *Baharistan* tries to suppress Yaqub's abjectness of character. He writes: 'Yaqub Shah who had been in Kishtwar living in peace and happiness with his family suddenly felt the urge of wearing imperial chains round his neck; submitted himself before His Majesty after agreeing to the conditions offered by Mirza Yusuf Khan' (*Baharistan*, f. 196a)

23. *Baharistan*, f. 206b

Behera is a large village at a distance of twenty miles South-east of Darbhanga (Bihar) (*Bengal District Gazetteers, Darbhanga*, Calcutta, 1907, p. 141)

enjoyed the delights which the emperor bestowed upon him.'[24]

Van Den Broecke, the Dutch traveller and author, writes: 'The king (Yaqub) was taken alive, but was pardoned by Akbar. He received a pension as did his father (Yusuf Shah); but not sufficient to maintain his dignity.'[25]

Badauni writes, Yaqub Shah 'came abjectly and had an interview with Qasim Khan (should be Yusuf Khan Rizwi), and went with him to do homage to the emperor. Finally the emperor sent him before his father to Bihar to Raja Man Singh. And Yusuf and Yaqub were both of them imprisoned in the cell of affliction, and by the sickness of melancholy and spleen they were released from the prison of the body.'[26]

Badauni, otherwise reliable, does not describe the end of Yaqub nor the circumstances that caused his death. Presumably, he did not like us to know the truth, or his 'error was due to incorrect information rather to wilful perversion of the truth'.

Fortunately, the author of the *Baharistan-i-Shahi*[27] fills this gap. He alone supplies a comprehensive report of the end of Yaqub Shah. He says:

'His Majesty sent him (Yaqub) to his father under the escort of Hasan Beg Turkoman. On the way his brother Mirza Ibrahim finding a suitable opportunity brandished his sword over the head of Hasan Beg Turkoman, but missed the aim. Immediately Hasan Beg's attendants fell upon him and killed him on the spot. But Yaqub was

24. Suka, p. 418

25. *Calcutta Review*, 1873, CXIII, p. 193; for Lethbridge's translation of Van Den Broecke's following extract from *Fragmentum Historiae Indicae*, a historical treatise based on a genuine chronicle: '*Rex* (Yakub Khan) *Vivus in potestatem annit, sed Venia, ab achabare impetrata annum stipendium una cum parente, haud satis pro dignitate, accepti.*'
(*De Laet*, issue I, p. 200; issue II, p. 192; V. A. Smith, *Akbar, The Great Mogul*, Oxford edition, p. 241, note one; Indian edition, 1958, p. 174, note one)

26. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, II (Lowe), p. 365

27. *Baharistan*, ff. 199b, 200a-2b

safely escorted (to Bihar) and delivered over to Raja Man Singh.

'More than a year after the death of Yusuf Shah, Raja Man Singh was summoned to court for consultation. Before he left Bihar his ears had been poisoned against Yaqub Shah by two old servants of his father, who were in league with Qasim Khan, alleged son of Yusuf Shah, and aimed to kill him (Yaqub). They were able to convince the raja that Yaqub could be dangerous in his absence. He was therefore confined in the Rohtas fort. On his return, however, the raja allowed him freedom and he went to his jagir in Behera. Here he paid a courtesy call on Qasim Khan (the alleged son of Yusuf Shah). At the time of departure the latter offered him a betel (*pan*) which was mixed with poison. He ate it in good faith, and died on 5 October 1593. He was buried in Bihar by the side of his father.'[28]

By birth a Chak, Yaqub had, both as prince and sultan of Kashmir, behaved like a typical Chak, a thoroughly dauntless, unscrupulous, dare-devil. When the Kashmiris got demoralised as a result of the defection of Yusuf Shah, it was Yaqub who sustained their hopes and spirit, and made it almost impossible, for some time at least, for the Mughals to seize the country. But he suffered from serious shortcomings and chronic defects of his community for which he deserved the fate which he met ultimately. He was a ruthless bigot and a reckless ruler of men. What is worse, for the love of life he submitted abjectly and disgracefully to the great Mughal. Had he died fighting for the independence of his country he would have left behind the name of a hero and an ardent fighter for the freedom of his country.

III

AKBAR AND KASHMIR

Even during his first short stay in Kashmir Akbar left behind indelible marks of genius as a thorough administrator,

28. *Ibid.*, and Appendix 'R'

great benefactor and kind ruler. He displayed intense activity and concern for the rehabilitation of the state. He established peace, tranquillity and prosperity, and rendered Kashmir immune from internal disorders. He proclaimed religious toleration. He abolished the *jizya*,[29] which relieved the Brahmans, who were then the only Hindus living in this country, from a great hardship. He respected the fears and sentiments of the population when he forbade Mughal soldiery to quarter in private houses.[30] He also abolished the hated and oppressive system of *begar*.[31]

Assessment of land

Akbar's real contribution to Kashmir is the revenue administration. Kashmir is an agricultural country; the happiness and welfare of the population depended almost entirely on the revenue system and methods of taxation. To assure security to the peasants and agricultural abundance to the state as far as it was humanly possible, Akbar sent Shaikh Faizi, Mir Sharif Amuli and Khwaja Muhammad Husain, to assess the land revenue in the Maraz or southern districts of the valley, while Khwaja Shams-ud-din Khafi and Kanwar Man Singh

29. Suka writes: 'Formerly, the kings of the House of Chaks used to exact an annual fine from the Brahmans, owing to their animosity towards the people of their caste. In every house a Brahman who maintained his own caste, used to pay an annual tribute of forty *panas* to the king. The good Brahmans therefore had left the country; those of the middle class became shameless, and the low Brahmans gave up their caste. . . Now when king Jalal-ud-din learnt of the condition of the Brahmans, he repealed the practice of levying fines on them' (Suka, pp. 420-21). As a matter of fact, Akbar had abolished the *jizya* (poll-tax) which brought in several crores of *dams in* 987 (1579-80), and edicts to this effect were proclaimed all over the empire (*Ain* (Blochmann), p. 189)

30. *Akbarnama*, *op. cit.*, p. 827

31. The extant inscription in Persian on the main gate (*Kathi Darwaza*) of the Akbar's wall round the Hari Parbat hillock states:

'Na Karda hech kas begar injah
Tamame Yaftand az makhzanash zar.'

(No person worked free on this construction. All workers received their dues from the imperial treasury)

were sent to assess the Kamraz[32] or northern districts. They fixed one-third of the autumn produce (*kharif*), i.e. paddy (*shali*), as the share of government. In every village the assessment was made on the basis of the number of the *kharwars* of *shali* harvested; and the demand was made annually without any fresh investigation.[33] With regard to the spring crops (*rabi*), like wheat, barley, pulses, etc., the government share for each *patta*[34] of land was fixed at two *traks* of the gross produce. The annual revenue of the state, as a whole, was assessed at 22 lakh *kharwars*.

This assessment, it appears, was not based on actual facts, because 'there was abundance of fertile talkers and concealers of the truth, and the governor of Kashmir was desirous that the truth should not appear, and the sovereign had in his mind the enjoyment of sight-seeing and the cultivators were chiefly soldiers'.[35] As a result, the governor, Mirza Yusuf Khan, was able to realise 33 lakh *kharwars* instead of 22 lakhs, each *kharwar* valued at 28 *dams* instead of 16 *dams* as fixed already.[36] Obviously, he was misappropriating government revenue and defrauding his sovereign by 50 per cent. The fraud was exposed by the governor's own *peshkar*, Tota Ram. The governor was infuriated and he put Tota Ram to torture. But the gallant Pandit managed

32. *Akbarnama, op. cit.*, p. 830

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 831-32

34. In Kashmir measurement of land was not calculated by its dimensions, but by the amount of seed each plot required. Thus a *kharwar* of land comprised a plot of land which required one *kharwar* load of seeds, which is equal to four British acres (Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 243). So was the case with a *trak* plot or *seer* plot and so on. A piece of cultivable land is still called a '*patta*' in Kashmir whence the Kashmiris have also got *chadar patta*. It was so in the time of Abul Fazl. He writes: 'Land is divided into plots each of which is called *bigha*. In the delightful land of Kashmir every plot is called a *patta*. This should be one *bigha* and one *biswa* according to the illahi gaz; but the Kashmiris reckon 2½ *pattas* and a little more as one Kashmiri *bigha* (*Akbarnama, ibid.*, pp. 830-31)

35. *Ibid.*, p. 832

36. *Ibid.*, p. 907

his escape, and presented himself before the emperor for justice.[37]

Thereupon, Akbar ordered Qazi Nur Ullah[38] and Qazi Ali,[39] on 27 July 1591, to proceed to Kashmir to investigate the matter. When they arrived their work was considerably hampered by Mirza Yúsuf Khan's attendants. They assumed a threatening attitude for fear of losing the hidden income. Under the circumstances, Qazi Nur Ullah was compelled to return to the court, and reported the state of affairs as he found them. Akbar therefore sent Husain Beg Shaikh Umari[40] to help Qazi Ali. Qazi Ali divided the country into 41 parganas, and assessed the revenue of each in cash as well as in kind. He also fixed the number of the local militia, both cavalry and infantry, to be maintained in each pargana.[41] What is of greater importance, he proposed that the lands held by the soldiery should be resumed and instead they should be paid in cash.[42] He fixed the revenue of Kashmir at 30,63,050 *kharwars*, 11 *traks*.[43]

Yadgar Episode

By and large these regulations hit hard the officials of the governor, the ryots of Kashmir and the soldiery, and

37. *Ibid.*

38. Qazi Nur Ullah Shustri is the author of the famous work *Majalis-ul-Muminin*, in which among other things he supplies certain notices relating to Kashmir. He was flogged to death by order of Jahangir on account of his Shiaism (Rieu, *Cat. Per. Mss. Brit. Museum*, I, f. 337a). Badauni praises him in spite of his being a Shia (Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* (text), III, pp. 137-38)

39. *Akbarnama*, *op. cit.*, pp. 906, 944. Qazi Ali is also called Qazi Ali Baghdadi, the 'settlement officer of Kashmir' (*Ibid.*, p. 395)

40. *Ibid.*, p. 944. He is mentioned as Husain Beg Shaikh Umri Badakhshani by Badauni (Badauni, *op. cit.*, II, (Lowe), p. 394)

41. *Ain* (Jarrett), II, pp. 367-70

42. The Persian chroniclers of Kashmir on the other hand invariably state that 'Qazi Ali grasped all the revenues of Kashmir and ordered that the sepoys should be paid in cash. As a result people found themselves in distress.' Pandit Suka satirically writes: 'The Qazi gave nothing to any one nor enjoyed anything himself. But he collected a large quantity of gold by robbing others' (Suka, p. 418)

43. *Ain* (Jarrett), II, p. 366

they decided to revolt. They approached Mir Kamal-ud-din Husain Asko,[44] an influential Saiyid, for help and guidance. He refused to oblige. Then they approached the ambitious, short-sighted and disloyal Mirza Yadgar.[45] Under his leadership, they set about making preparations for rebellion.[46] The conditions were amply favourable. In the absence of the governor, Mirza Yusuf Khan, who had gone to the court, Yadgar, his nephew, had been left in charge of the administration of the state. The situation became almost dangerous for Husain Beg Shaikh Umari, when one of his servants carried away the wife of one of the Dilazaki soldiers of the governor. The rebels immediately seized upon this incident and attacked Husain Beg in his house. But Qazi Ali and Baba Wali succeeded in averting a catastrophe.

That, however, did not end the real trouble. Soon the rebels made a concerted attack on Qazi Ali and Husain Beg Shaikh Umari. Unable to withstand the rebels both took to flight. Qazi Ali[47] was killed in 1592 but Husain Beg managed to reach Rajauri. Soon after Mirza Yadgar was proclaimed king of Kashmir and the *khutba* was read in his name. Simultaneously, all routes leading into Kashmir were heavily guarded and barricaded.

44. *Akbarnama, op. cit.*, p. 944

45. The *Rauzat-ul-Tahirin* calls him the son of M. Mahmud (*Akbarnama, op. cit.*, p. 944, note one). Shah Nawaz Khan mentions him as a nephew of Yusuf Khan and holds him responsible for the rebellion (*Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. III, pp. 316-18)

46. Abul Fazl is unusually silent about making a full statement of this rebellion and the immediate cause of the disturbances at Husain Beg's house which subsequently developed into a political conflagration. On the other hand, the author of the *Baharistan* records: 'Hasan Beg Shaikh Umari and Qazi Ali, having controlled all departments (of revenue) for their personal aggrandisement, caused much distress and annoyance to the people. Consequently, the people were compelled to come to an understanding with Mirza Yadgar, cousin of Mirza Yusuf Khan, and fought ferociously against Hasan Beg and almost overpowered him' (*Baharistan*, f. 204a). Pandit Narayan Kaul develops the circumstances (*Tarikh-i-Narayan Kaul* (Ms.), ff. 82a-82b)

47. *Akbarnama, op. cit.*, pp. 945-46. According to Badauni Qazi Ali Baghdadi was killed in 1000 (1592) (Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* (Lowe), pp. 394-95)

This event took place on 22 July 1592. On the same day, Akbar left Lahore for his second visit to Kashmir.[48] On his way he received the report of the rebellion in Kashmir. Mirza Yusuf Khan, governor of Kashmir, who happened to be in the emperor's camp being suspected of complicity, was arrested and put in the custody of Abul Fazl. The emperor then ordered Zain Khan Koka to proceed immediately to Kashmir by way of Swat, and Sadiq Khan, another general, to march by way of Punch. At the same time, the zamindars of the hill-states lying to the south of Kashmir, and the fief-holders of the Punjab were directed to march with their contingents, by way of Jammu.[49] On 15 August 1592, the emperor despatched in advance Shaikh Farid Bakhshi[50] with a large army.

Meanwhile Yadgar had grown bolder than ever. He awarded *mansabs* and jagirs to his chief followers, who also appropriated the covetous Mughal titles.[51] Then he seized the treasures, arms and, in fact, all the property of Mirza Yusuf Khan after exiling members of his family with the greatest ignominy.[52] Once they arrived before Akbar in a wretched condition, all suspicions against Mirza Yusuf Khan were automatically removed and he was released from captivity.

When the emperor's pilot troops arrived at the Pir Panjal pass they were confronted by Yadgar's soldiers and for three days the combatants fought to a finish. Many Kashmiris were killed and many were dispersed till the pass lay open before the imperial troops.[53] When Yadgar received the news of disaster he marched from Srinagar to Hirapur

48. *Akbarnama, op. cit.*, p. 945

49. *Ibid.*, p. 947

50. *Ibid.* Shaikh Farid was one of the trusted generals of Akbar, and had won his laurels in several contests previously. He had struck for himself a mark along with Zain Khan Koka and Shah Quli Mahrum against the Roshanais (*Ain* (Blochmann), pp. 454-58; Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* (Lowe), pp. 366, 396, 410, 412)

51. *Akbarnama, op. cit.*, p. 950

52. *Ibid.*, p. 951

53. *Ibid.*, pp. 952-53

where the Mughal army had arrived on 12 September 1592.[54] But he was not destined to die fighting, because on the very same night Shah Baz Khan Niazi, Ibrahim Khan Kakar and Saran Beg Shamlu and other loyal servants of Mirza Yusuf Khan, who had been waiting for a suitable opportunity, succeeded in getting hold of Yadgar and beheading him. His assassination brought his episode to a sad and sudden end.

Akbar's Second Visit (1592)

Akbar entered the valley of Kashmir for the second time on 7 October 1592.[55] On this occasion too he travelled by the Pir Panjal road. During his brief stay he enjoyed the saffron blossom at Pampur, and celebrated the *dewali*. On the *dewali* festival he ordered that boats on the Jehlam, the bank of the river and the roofs of the houses in Srinagar should be illuminated with lamps.[56] To conciliate the people and to restore law and order he appointed officers of integrity and experience in charge of every state department, and ordered that a generous and magnanimous treatment should be meted out to the rebels.[57] In order to initiate himself the policy of forgive and forget, he accepted the hand of the daughter of Shams Chak, who had been enemy number two of the Mughals during the brief regime of Yaqub Shah. Then the daughters of Mubarak Khan Chak and Husain Chak, who had been prominent Chak nobles, were married to Prince Salim, the future Jahangir. To create a lasting atmosphere of friendliness, amity, good will and harmony between the Kashmiri and Mughal nobels, the emperor encouraged them to enter into matrimonial relations.[58] Then he left Kashmir much against his desire[59] at the end of October 1592,[60] by the Pakhli route.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 953 55. *Ibid.*, p. 956*n* 56. *Ibid.*, p. 958
57. *Ibid.*, p. 956 58. *Ibid.*, p. 958

59. Abul Fazl records that on account of the delightful climate and its suitability His Majesty's idea had been to spend the winter in Kashmir, but from the consideration of the high price of food and severe cold he decided to leave the country (*Akbarnama, op. cit.*, p. 959)

60. *Ibid.*

IV

ASAF KHAN & MUHAMMAD QULI KHAN (1593-99)

In 1593, Mirza Yusuf Khan having been appointed master of artillery (*darogha-topkhana*), Asaf Khan[61] succeeded him as the governor of Kashmir. His regime, though short, was important for the reorganisation of the revenue administration. We have stated already that Qazi Ali had divided Kashmir into 41 parganas and fixed the revenue at 30,63,050 *kharwars*, 11 *traks* in kind. Each *kharwar* was priced 29 *dams*. As a result, Kashmir had become all but desolate through the oppression of the jagirdars. And it had aroused much opposition, and caused the Yadgar episode. But by the time Asaf Khan's appointment had been announced law and order had been reestablished so thoroughly that he was able to give a practical shape to the recommendations of Qazi Ali, after making suitable additions and alterations. He reduced the number of the parganas to 38, and fixed the revenue at

61. Asaf Khan *alias* Qawam-ud-din Jafar Beg, son of Badi-uz-Zaman Qazwini, originally belonged to Persia. He came to India in 1577 and was presented to Akbar. The emperor made him a commander of twenty (*bisti*). The post was so low that Jafar threw it up in disgust and went to Bengal to serve under Muzaffar Khan, the governor. There he fell into the hands of the rebels in the military revolt, but effected his escape by his winning manners. Subsequently, he was appointed commander of two thousand and got the title of Asaf Khan and was appointed *mir bakhshi, vice* Qazi Ali. In 1587 he was appointed thanedar of Swat. In 1593 he was sent to Kashmir *vice* Mirza Yusuf Khan recalled. In Kashmir Asaf Khan redistributed the lands of the jagir holders, of whom Ahmad Beg Kabuli, Muhammad Quli Afshar and Hasan Arab were the most prominent recipients. Saffron and hunting were declared imperial monopolies, and the revenue was fixed according to the assessment of Qazi Ali. Asaf Khan's stay in Kashmir was very brief and he returned to Lahore when Muhammad Quli Khan relieved him. In 1592-93 when Kashmir had become all but desolate through the oppression of the jagirdars, Asaf Khan was made the governor. In 1598 he was made *diwan-i-kul*.

On the accession of Jahangir he was made *ataliq* (tutor) to Prince Parwez. In 1606, he was made commander of five thousand. He died in 1613. He is represented as a great genius. He was an able financier and a good accountant. A glance is said to have been sufficient for him to know the contents of a page. He was a great horticulturist, too, and one of the best poets of Akbar's age (*Ain* (Blochmann), pp. 451-54)

30,79,443 *kharwars* inclusive of the cesses, *baj* and *tamgha*,[62] which amounted to 67,824 *kharwars*, 8 *traks*.[63] Saffron and the *shikar* (hunting) continued to be the imperial[64] monopoly. But the emperor was personally so keen for the happiness and prosperity of the cultivators of Kashmir that, while approving Asaf's proposals in general, he remitted the *baj* and *tamgha* taxes which reduced the total revenue to 30,11,618 *kharwars*, eight *traks*, equivalent to 62,11,304½ *dams* or 15,52,826 rupees.[65]

Akbar's Third Visit (1597)

Soon after introducing the new assessment of land revenue, Asaf Khan returned to Lahore. He was succeeded by Muhammad Quli Khan.[66] On Easter Day, 1597, the royal palace in Lahore was burnt to ashes.[67] In April the emperor left Lahore for Kashmir to enjoy its beauty and, at the same time, to allow time for getting the palace rebuilt. He arrived in Srinagar on 6 June 1597.[68] This was his third and

62. *Tamgha* was a demand in excess of the land revenue and *baj* was simply a toll or tax. (*Ain* (Jarrett), II, p. 367; Wilson, *Glossary*)

63. *Ain* (Jarrett), II, p. 367

64. *Ain* (Blochmann), p. 452

65. *Ain* (Jarrett), II, p. 367

66. Muhammad Quli Khan Turkoman at first served in Bengal. At the outbreak of the military revolt in the province he advocated the cause of the rebels, but soon deserted them, and was pardoned by emperor Akbar. In 1586, he marched with Raja Man Singh to Kabul and distinguished himself there. In 1593 he was sent to Kashmir. In 1598 when a rebellious party in Kashmir attempted to set up Amba Chak (*Ain* (Blochmann), p. 497) as king their designs were frustrated by his son Ali Quli Khan. In 1600 Muhammad Quli repulsed Ali Rai, the chief of Ladakh when the latter invaded Kashmir, and in 1601 he drove away Amba Chak from the country (*Ain* (Ibid.), p. 474). According to Suka, Kashmiri contemporary of Muhammad Quli, he was sent to relieve Asaf Khan. It was in his time that the construction of the famous fort of Nagar Nagar (Hari Parbat) was undertaken (Suka, p. 426)

67. *Akbar and the Jesuits*, (Broadway Travellers, Payne) Chapter VIII, pp. 74-75; Maclagan, *Jesuit Missions to Akbar*, *JASB*, 1896, p. 71; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, VI, p. 132

68. *Akbarnama*, *op. cit.*, p. 1084

last visit to Kashmir. Father Jerome Xavier[69] and Benedict Goez, who are the earliest known European visitors to Kashmir, formed part of his train. Fortunately, Father Xavier has left a long letter[70] which contains his observations on Kashmir.

The Great Famine (1597)

While the emperor was in the valley a severe and devastating famine[71] broke out. Father Xavier has recorded its gruesome effects. He states that hard necessity drove mothers

69. *Akbar and the Jesuits, op. cit.*, p. 78; Maclagan, *Jesuit Missions to Akbar, JASB*, 1896, p. 72. Father Jerome Xavier had entered the society of the Portuguese Mission in India and had spent most of his service at Bassein, Cochin and finally at Goa. He was an earnest man of mature age and had spent most of his life in teaching when he came to preach Christianity to emperor Akbar in 1594-95. He remained at the Mughal court for 23 years holding an honourable and prominent position. But finding himself little more advanced at the end than at the beginning he finally returned to Goa in 1617. He visited Kashmir in 1597 in the retinue of Akbar and has left his observations of the country in his letter

70. *Akbar and Jesuits, Ibid.*, pp. 74-79

71. It may be interesting to quote the letter on the subject. It states: 'Many mothers were rendered destitute, and having no means of nourishing their children exposed them for sale in the public places of the city. Moved to compassion by their pitiable sight, the Father bought many of these little ones, who soon after receiving baptism, yielded up their spirits to their Creator. A certain Saracen seeing the charity of the Father towards these children brought him one of his own, but the Father gave it back to the mother, together with certain sum of money for its support, for he was unwilling to baptise it, seeing that, if it survived there was little prospect of its being able to live a Christian life in this country. At day-break the next morning, however, the mother knocked the door of his lodging, and begged him to come to her house and baptise the child as it was about to die. Accompanied by some Portuguese he went with her to the house and baptised the child having first obtained the consent of its father. The latter, after it was dead, wished to circumcise it but this Father would not permit, but buried with Christian rites' (*Akbar and the Jesuits*, Broadway Travellers, Payne, p. 78; Maclagan, *Jesuit Missions to Akbar, JASB*, 1897, p. 72).

There appears no exaggeration in this statement. We can visualise the enormity of devastation of life by the famine of 1597 in Kashmir at a distance of three hundred and seventy years if we take into consideration the appalling effects of the famine of 1967 in Bihar. Before food was

to expose their children for sale in public places in the city. Viewing their plight the Portuguese Fathers, Xavier and Goez, picked up and baptised many of them in the belief that by so doing they would secure salvation and eternal bliss for the souls of the little ones.

The Fort of Nagar Nagar

To alleviate the distress of the famine-stricken population of Kashmir, the emperor, says the tradition,[72] ordered that a strongly bastioned stone-wall should be built around the slope of the Hari Parbat hillock in the city and Kashmiris, both men and women, employed on the work. The township within this lordly fort wall was named 'Nagar Nagar'. This fort wall is the only extant monument in Srinagar associated with the name of Akbar.

Opinions, however, differ about the purpose underlying the construction of this wall, and the date when it was built. Pandit Suka[73] states that the great fort wall was built during the governorship of Muhammad Quli Khan in order to segregate the imperial troops from the city, since they had become a menace and a constant source of harassment and hardship to the citizens in whose houses they were quartered.

Sir Walter Lawrence,[74] on the other hand, writes: 'On

rushed there, says an eye-witness, 'a 25-year-old mother begged passers-by to buy a ten-day-old baby. Not a grain of food remained in her home, she said, and she had not eaten for three days. The child was the only possession she could offer to earn a few rupees to fend off starvation. She would sell her emaciated boy for five shillings' (*Reader's Digest*, October 1968, p. 54)

72. Kak, *op. cit.*, p. 90

73. Suka writes: 'Under orders of King Akvara, (Muhammad Quli Khan) built a fort with the inappropriate name of Nagar Nagar... At this time the houses in the city were occupied by the king's soldiers, and the inhabitants suffered thereby. The merchants saw this distress of the people and informed the king of it, whereupon, the king removed the difficulty by the following arrangement: the king's followers stayed in the new town, and any of them who harassed the people was made guilty of an offence' (Suka, p. 426)

74. Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 194

the occasion of his third visit Akbar built the great fort on the Hari Parbat hill at an enormous cost, and in the vicinity of the fort, he raised the town of Nagar Nagar, where his nobles built gardens and houses. It is said that the fort on the Hari Parbat hill was commenced with the view of attracting the Kashmiris back to Kashmir whence they had fled in the troublesome times of the Chaks. High wages were given to men and women, married woman receiving six annas and single woman four annas per diem.'

Lawrence's main source of information was Hasan, who wrote his history at his bidding. Sir Walter, while making this statement, failed to imagine how many Kashmiris could have quitted their country during the troublesome reign of the Chaks, and how far the construction of this fort wall alone could have attracted them back to their homeland when we know that Kashmiris were employed simply as labourers whereas the 200 master-builders employed on the work were non-Kashmiris. If the emperor at all meant to attract the emigres back to their country, why he delayed to execute the policy by ten years? Why both men and women should have been employed on it? Taking all these facts into consideration, the chief motive which could have prompted the emperor to undertake the construction of the fort wall appears, in all probability, to have been to afford economic relief to the famine-stricken Kashmiris by giving them employment as well as to deliver them from constant menace of the Mughal soldiery.

As regards the date when the construction of the fort wall was taken up, Abul Fazl writes: 'on the 28 *Khurdad* (6 June 1597), he (Akbar) cast the shadow of his fortune on the city of Nagar Nagar. Near Srinagar there is a high hill, and there is a large reservoir (Dull Lake) near it. The far-seeing prince had chosen this place as the site of a city, and Yusuf Khan had, under his orders, peopled it. He built some residences and laid the foundation of an earthen wall. Suitable quarters were also provided for the soldiers. His Majesty took up his abode in the quarters of Muhammad Quli Beg (Khan) on the bank of the lake. An order was

given that the fort should be made of stone. Every portion of the wall was assigned to an officer.'[75]

Jahangir[76] supports Abul Fazl. He writes: 'My father gave an order that they should build in this place (Hari Parbat) a very strong fort of stone and lime. This has been nearly completed during the reign of this suppliant so that the hill has been brought in the midst of the fortifications and the wall of the fort around it.'

Nevertheless, the Persian chroniclers[77] of Kashmir state that the Nagar Nagar town and the fort wall around it were completed in 1597. Von Noer[78] makes the same mistake both in regard to the date and the location of the fort wall. He writes: 'Akbar left another memorial in the lofty fort of *Koh-i-Maran* (Hari Parbat) which to this day forms a picturesque item in the landscape where it crowns a lofty rock called Hari Parbat that rises to the north-east of Srinagar. The fortress like Allahabad and Attock proclaimed its builder's supremacy. It was completed in 1597 and can have cost little less than £11,000.' Beveridge,[79] quoting Dr. Stein, correctly states that, 'the date given in the *Imperial Gazetteer* is wrong. The wall was built in 1597 apparently and the fort still later.'

That the construction of the fort wall of Nagar Nagar, as a matter of fact, was started in 1597 is conclusively

75. *Akbarnama, op. cit.*, pp. 1084-85

76. *Tuzuk* (R&B), II, pp. 150 and 139

77. Muhammad Azam writes: 'Binai Qilai Badshahi wa daulat Khanai shahi dar damani Koh-i-Maran dar sali ek hazar wa shashm (1006) ba tamam rasid.' *Tarikh-i-Azam* (Ms.), pp. 99.

Maulvi Hasan amplifying the narrative of his predecessor, records: 'Akbar Shah dar 996 Hijri Shahri Nagar Nagar ba iswaq dukan wa Kothihai sangeen wa daulat Khanai khas zeri demani Koh-i-Maran ahdas namud wa hawali an Shahrpanah masum be Qila Nagarnagar ta deh sal tarsis namud' (Hasan, *Geographia Kashmir* (Ms.), f. 95a)

78. Von Noer, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 215. Von Noer wrongly attributes the construction of the fort on the hill of *Koh-i-Maran* (Hari Parbat) to Akbar. It was built long after Akbar by Ata Muhammad Khan, the Pathan governor of Kashmir (Lawrence, *op. cit.*, para 953). Pandit Anand Kaul, too, wrongly states that the construction of the fort wall was completed in 1597 (Anand Kaul, *Archaeological Remains in Kashmir*, p. 88)

79. *Akbarnama, op. cit.*, p. 1085, note one

supported by the extant inscription[80] over the main gate (*kathi darwaza*) of the rampart. This inscription has three-fold importance. Firstly, it gives the date when the wall was built; secondly, it mentions the total amount of money that was spent on it, and thirdly, it states, that Akbar abolished *begar* (forced labour), one of the most hated features of Kashmir administration.

80. The following is the text of the inscription:

'Binai Qilai Nagarnagar bud
Ba ahde Padshahe dadgustar,
Shahi Shahani alam Shahi-Akbar
Taalla Shana hu Allah Akbar,
Shahanshahe ki dar alam misalash
Na bud ast-u-na khahad bud digar,
Karore-o-dah lakh az makhzan firistad
Du sad Ustadi Hindi Jumla chakar
Na Kardeh hech kas begar anja
Tamame yaftand az makhzanash zar
Chihil-o-chahar az Juluse Padshahi
Hazar-o-Shash ze traikhe Paigambar.'

Translation: 'The foundation of the fort town of Nagar Nagar was laid in the reign of the Just Sovereign, king of kings, unique among sovereigns of the world, past and present. He sent one crore and ten lakhs (eleven million rupees) from the central exchequer and two hundred master builders and their servants. No one was seized on *begar* (forced, unpaid labour) and all received their remuneration—in the forty-fourth year of his accession, corresponding to 1006 of the Prophet (*Hijra*) (1597).'

The following second extant inscription over the same gate gives the name of Mir Muhammad Husain, who was the superintendent of the work:

'Binai Qilai Nagarnagar baoon Ilah
Ba hukame Shahjahan Zil Illah Akbar Shah!
Ba Saay Mir Muhammad Husain gasht tamam
Haqire bandeh az bandahai Akbar Shah.
Dawan daulat-i-an Shah ta abad bad
Ba haqqi Shahidan la Illa-ha Ill-Allah.'

Translation: 'The foundation of the fort of Nagar Nagar was completed by the grace of God, by order of Akbar, the sovereign of the world and shadow of God, under the supervision of Mir Muhammad Husain, a servant of His Majesty's servants. May the prosperity of the king last upon us for ever. There is no God but God'

V

JAHANGIR AND KASHMIR (1605-28)

Jahangir was simply enamoured of Kashmir. Of his unique interest in and abundant love for Kashmir, it is stated that when he lay on his death-bed and was asked to name anything which was dearest to his heart, he said, 'Kashmir'.[81] Apart from his passionate interest in artistically decorating the pleasure spots in the valley, other events associated with his reign have historical interest of their own.

Last Attempts For Freedom

Even after Yaqub Shah Chak and Shams Chak submitted to Akbar the restless spirit of the Chaks and their dreams of regaining independence did not cease. The death of Akbar, the rebellion of Khusrau, and the anti-Shia-Nurbakhshiya policy of Muhammad Quli Khan, the Mughal governor of Kashmir, gave them cause and opportunity to make yet another bid to overthrow the Mughal power. They assembled their forces under the leadership of Amba Khan Chak,[82]

81. Tughara, who was a poet in the reign of Shahjahan in the establishment of prince Murad Bakhsh, puts the tradition in the following well-known couplet:

'Az Shahi Jahangir dame nazah chu Justand
Ba khawahish-i-dil guft ki Kashmir digar hech'

82. Amba Khan Chak, son of Abdal Chak, was the most influential among the surviving Chak nobles. He was descended from the royal family of the Chaks. He was the nerve-centre of the Chak rebellion which was raised in the early years of the reign of Jahangir. But when Ali Akbar Khan succeeded in separating him from his followers, the rebellion ended in fiasco. Then Amba somehow managed to escape to Kishtwar. Here he once more took up arms against the Mughals when in 1618 Dilawar Khan invaded the state. At the defeat of the raja of Kishtwar, Amba Khan also submitted finally. He was sent to Burdwan where he received the rank of 1,000 *zat* and 200 *sawar*. He turned into a devout servant and played a conspicuous part in the murder of Sher Afghan, the first husband of queen Nur Jahan, when he himself got killed. Haidar Malik Chadura, the Kashmiri historian, who had also participated in this warfare, has recorded the proceedings. In the local Persian chronicles his

and once more created trouble in the valley. They succeeded in gaining the sympathies of the people of Ladakh and Baltistan[83] also with their cause. When the situation took a serious turn, Mirza Ali Akbar Khan,[84] the governor of Kashmir, behaved diplomatically. He assumed a conciliatory attitude towards the rebels. He employed trickery, chicanery and deceit, and himself feigned sympathy with their cause. He held out hopes of sovereignty to them. Then he gradually succeeded in creating disunity and dissension among them. Once Amba Khan Chak had been weaned away from his followers, the government triumphed. The rebellion fizzled out and the governor ordered his troops to kill at sight any Chak, be he a soldier, zamindar or artisan, that came in their way. Thus heaps of their corpses were piled up from dawn to dusk.

Nevertheless, the annihilation of the Chaks, both politically and culturally, was accomplished by Itiqad Khan.[85] He was appointed governor in 1622. During his regime the

name is mentioned as Aiba Chak, whereas in the *Memoirs of Jahangir* the name occurs as 'Amba Khan' (*Tuzuk* (R&B), I, pp. 75 and 115; *Baharistan*, f. 208b; *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, pp. 118-19 et sq.)

83. *Baharistan*, f. 205b

84. Mirza Ali Akbar was born in Badakhshan. He came to India and entered the service of emperor Akbar who gave him the title of 'Akbar Shahi', and sent him to conquer the Deccan in 1597-98. He discharged his duty like a brave man and proved of great assistance to Abul Fazl. His services were publicly recognised, and he stayed on in the Deccan serving under Khan-i-Khanan. Jahangir raised him to the rank of 4,000 and appointed him governor of Kashmir. He died in 1616 (*Maasir-ul-Umara* (Bib. Ind.), Vol. III, pp. 355-57). The methods he employed to overthrow the Chak rebellion are mentioned in the *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, ff. 207a-208b

85. Itiqad Khan was the brother of Asaf Khan. He was famous for his refined manners of dress and diet. In 1622 Jahangir appointed him governor of Kashmir with the rank of 5,000 *zat* and *sawar*. Here he stayed for several years. It is said that he used to import special rice and betel leaves from Burhanpur. During his governorship, Habib Chak and Ahmad Chak spread much disturbances in this country, but he crushed them. In 1634 he was dismissed from Kashmir by order of Shahjahan for his notorious and high-handed innovations. But later on he regained the favour of the emperor by making presents of precious things of Kashmir. He died in 1649 (*Maasir-ul-Umara* (Bib. Ind.), Vol. I, pp. 180-82)

Chaks, led by Habib Khan Chak and Ahmad Khan Chak, once more became a source of danger to the public peace. The movement became strong when the rebels received substantial assistance from Abdal,[86] the chief of Baltistan, who was a Nurbakhshiya; in fact, most of the Baltis were Nurbakhshiyas. Itiqad Khan rightly felt that the overthrow of Abdal and his followers would be easily accomplished after the Chaks in the valley had been annihilated. So he ran amuck to mete out drastic punishments to them, leaving behind nothing of them except their name. The constant threat of a ruthless governor waving over their heads like the sword of Damocles subjected them to perpetual survitude.[87] That was the fate of once a very brave people who were also notorious for rebellious fervour, and fought the good fight of independence. With their annihilation the struggle for independence froze over.

Great Plague and Great Fire (1617-19)

During the regime of Ahmad Beg Khan[88], Kashmir was visited by plague which caused appalling mortality. It appears to have occurred for the first time in the country. In all likelihood, it was caused by the spread of the contagion of bubonic plague which had infected whole of northern India in 1616. Of its origin and progress Jahangir[89] writes: 'A great pestilence appeared in some places in Hindustan. The commencement of this calamity was in the parganas of the Punjab, and by degrees the contagion spread to the city of Lahore. Many of the people, Musalmans

86. Saksena, *Shahjahan*, p. 114; *Maasir-ul-Umara* (Bib. Ind.), Vol. I, p. 181

87. *Tarikh-i-Azam* (Ms.), p. 106

88. Ahmad Beg Khan was one of the jagir-holders of Kashmir since 1593. He had originally served for long under Mirza Muhammad Hakim in Kabul. He submitted himself to Akbar at the death of his patron and the emperor granted him a *mansab* of 700. Jahangir was pleased to grant him a rank of 3,000 and appointed him governor of Kashmir. In 1617 he was dismissed from Kashmir (*Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. I, p. 126)

89. *Tuzuk* (R&B), Vol. I, p. 330; *Iqbalnama* (Bib. Ind.), pp. 88-89; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, Vol. VI, p. 346

and Hindus, died through this. After this it spread to Sirhind and the Doab, until it reached Delhi, and the surrounding parganas and villages and desolated them.' Of its progress in Kashmir, he adds: 'The plague had taken a firm hold of the country and many had died. The symptoms were that on the first day there was headache and fever, and much bleeding at the nose. On the second day the patient died. In the house where one died all the inmates were carried off. Whoever went near the sick person or dead body was affected in the same way. In one instance the dead body was thrown on the grass and it chanced that a cow came and ate some of the grass. It died, and some dogs that had eaten its flesh also died. Things had come to such a pass that from fear of death fathers would not approach their children and children would not go near their fathers.'[90]

The plague had not completely subsided, when in 1619 the north-eastern quarter of the city was completely gutted by fire. About the origin and progress of the fire Jahangir has left first-hand information. He says: 'In the ward in which the disease (plague) began, a fire broke out and nearly three thousand houses were burnt.'[91] Jama Masjid, the only lordly mosque in Srinagar, was also burnt. Haidar Malik Chadura[92] states that the Sunnis had suspected him and his father, Malik Muhammad Naji, of causing fire to the mosque as a reprisal for the destruction of the *khanqah* of Shams-ud-din Iraqi by the Sunnis during the reign of Mirza Haidar Dughlat. The Sunnis made petition to Jahangir for justice. The emperor ordered that Haidar Malik and his father should rebuild the mosque at their own expense. In fact, the enmity[93] against Haidar Malik Chandura

90. *Tuzuk, ibid.*, p. 442; *Tarikh-i-Azam*, p. 104

91. *Tuzuk, ibid.*

92. *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 119

93. *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 122. Haidar Malik writes (translation of the extract) as follows: 'Since the Emperor Jahangir decorated me (Haidar Malik Chadura) with many favours and positions, many Kashmiris became jealous and some mischievous and ungrateful among them

appears to have been caused by the hidden opposition of Ahmad Beg Khan, the Mughal governor, since the latter suspected the historian's loyalty towards him. The reasons were obvious. Ahmad Beg was a thorough Sunni whereas Haidar Malik was a thorough Shia. Ahmad Beg had openly recently been very ruthless to the Shias. Haidar Malik wielded great influence with Jahangir as well as Nurjahan, and he was the recipient of the coveted title of the *Rais-ul-Mulk*. Jahangir does not refer to this incident in his memoirs though he makes a passing reference to the history of this mosque.[94] But the extant inscription on the southern gate of the mosque unquestionably supports Haidar Malik's statement that it was rebuilt by him in the reign of Jahangir. The inscription states:[95]

'Originally the Jama Masjid was build by Sultan Sikandar, but it was subsequently burnt down. It was rebuilt by the grace of Almighty by Sultan Hasan Shah, a descendant of Sikandar. Then it was without pillars on its two wings, and without its roof. They were completed by (Malik) Ibrahim Magre, (his prime minister) and in 909 *Hijri* (1508) in the reign of Muhammad Shah

addressed letters to the emperor (to harm me) and also incited Ahmad Beg Khan telling him that I had stated that Ahmad Beg Khan would be unable to accomplish his task'

94. *Tuzuk* (R&B), Vol. II, p. 142

95. The following is the text of the extant inscription on a stone slab fixed on top of the entrance gate of the Jama Masjid which gives a history of the mosque:

'Nakhust yin masjid-e-Jama zeh Shahi Iskandar Sani
Amarat yaft o angah sokht az taqdeeri Subhani.
Digar barah Hasan Shah an ki bud az nasle paki-i-u
Bashud bani yin masjid ham az tawfiqi Rabbani.
Walekin az du janab be satun arast o be saqfash
Ze Ibrahim Magre shud arast ta dani.
Ze Hijrat nusad-o-nu bud az daure Muhammad Shah
Ki yin Janatsara shud zinate dine Mussalmani.
Batarikhe hazar-o-bist-o-nu az Hijrat
Ba roze Id roza sokht dar naubate sanai.
Malik Haidar Rais-ul-Mulk dar ahde Jahangiri
Nihad az nau binayash baz roze Idi-Qurbani'

this blissful abode became the glorious tower of the strength of Islam. Yet again the mosque got burnt down in 1029 *Hijri* (1619), on the day of *Id,* and was rebuilt by Malik Haidar (Chadura), the *Rais-ul-Mulk,* in the reign of Jahangir, on the *Id-i-Qurban.*'

From the above inscription we might draw two important conclusions, namely, firstly, that Jahangir submitted to the public opinion though he and the empress were personally interested in the welfare and prosperity of Haidar Malik.[96] Secondly, that some Kashmiri nobles appear to have started growing economically so well off within less than 35 years of Mughal rule that for some of them, like Haidar Malik, it was not impossible to bear the enormous cost of building a lordly mosque like the Jama Masjid.

Conquent of Kishtwar

Kishtwar is a small hill-state enclosed on the north by Kashmir and the Maru-Wardwan valley, on the south by Bhadarwa, on the east by the Chinab river, and on the west by Ramban and Banihal. The Chinab river which flows through it could in those days be crossed by a rope bridge, locally called the *zampa.*

In the time of Jahangir, Kishtwar[97] produced much wheat, barley, lentils, millet and pulses, but little rice.

Climatically Kishtwar is a miniature Kashmir. It has been compared to a perfect orchard with abundance of apples, pears, peaches, melons and grapes, etc. Saffron also grew here which was stated to be superior to the Kashmir variety. Here the unit of exchange was the coin called *sanhasi* and *man* equal in weight to two seers of India. The raja charged no land revenue, but levied house tax. Annually each house had to contribute six *sanhasi* or four Mughal rupees. The main source of the income of the raja

96. Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian Mss. British Museum,* f. 297b

97. *Tuzuk* (R&B), II, pp. 137-39; *Iqbalnama* (Bib. Ind.), pp. 143-46; *Maasir-ul-Umara* (Bib. Ind.), Vol. II, pp. 10-13. For modern account of the state, see Vigne, *op. cit.,* Vol. I, pp. 203-12; Bates, *op. cit.,* pp. 237-39

was heavy fines which were inflicted on rich subjects even for petty offences. The raja had no cavalry, but he maintained a standing militia of seven hundred musketeers who were assigned the saffron crop in lieu of their pay. In times of emergency or war the raja could raise some 7,000 foot. On the whole, Kishtwar was a tiny, humble state. Its notorious poverty was reflected in the popular saying, 'Kishtwar is the cause-way of distress, where people are hungry by day and cold by night: Whoever comes there, when he goes away, is an lean as the flag staff of a *faqir*.'[98]

In the reign of the Chaks, Kishtwar offered a refuge to the political assassins and rebels of Kashmir. Ali Shah Chak (1569-79) brought this state of things to an end when he invaded Kishtwar twice and inflicted crushing and ignominious defeats on the raja. In token of his good faith and loyalty for the future, the raja sent his grandson as a hostage and presented his sister and daughter to the sultan of Kashmir. During his struggles for the independence of Kashmir, Yaqub Shah Chak regarded Kishtwar as an impenetrable bulwark of safety against the troops of Qasim Khan *Mir Bahr*, and Yusuf Khan Rizwi, who had been despatched by Akbar to overthrow him. Though Yaqub submitted finally, other freedom fighters continued to cause all possible difficulties to the Mughals to establish peace and tranquillity in Kashmir. Encouraged by Khusrau's rebellion during the early years of Jahangir's reign, Amba Khan Chak and others made predatory incursions on Kashmir. In 1616, the emperor appointed Ahmad Beg Khan as governor, because as a Mughal *Jagirdar* of Kashmir he was supposed to be well informed about local conditions. He was appointed on the clear understanding that he would subdue Kishtwar. But while Ahmad Beg was able to crush the Chaks locally he could not reduce Kishtwar.[99] Thereupon, in 1618, Jahangir sent Dilawar Khan Kakar,[100] to

98. Vigne, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 203

99. *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, pp. 121-22

100. Ibrahim Dilawar Khan had originally distinguished himself in 1605 in arresting the sons of Rajput Akhiraj. Thereby he gained the

accomplish the project. In the very first year of his appointment as governor, Dilawar Khan invaded Kishtwar at the head of an army of ten thousand horsemen and foot soldiers after making elaborate preparations.[101] He left behind his son, Hassan, and admiral, Gird Ali, in charge of Kashmir.

There are two routes leading into kishtwar from Kashmir. One goes by way of Singpur,[102] and the other through Dusu.[103] As a precaution, Dilawar Khan divided his army into two divisions. He despatched one division through Dusu under the command of his son, Jalal, assisted by Nazr Ullah Arab and Ali Malik Kashmiri, while himself he

favour of Jahangir who appointed him governor of the Punjab. Here he gained greater prominence in defending Lahore against the machinations of the rebel prince, Khusrau. In 1613 he accompanied Prince Khurram on his successful campaign against Mewar. In 1618 he succeeded Ahmad Beg Khan as governor of Kashmir and gained much influence with the emperor as a result of the conquest of Kishtwar. He is still remembered in Kashmir as the founder of *Bagh-i-Dilawar Khan* which is situated in a picturesque locality on the *Brar-i-Nambal* in the neighbourhood of the Fourth Bridge (Alauddinpur) and the extant *chinars* of his time are a special feature of the garden. At present the Government High School, Srinagar, is housed in this garden area (*Maasir-ul-Umara* (Bib. Ind.), Vol. II, pp. 9-13; *Tuzuk* (R&B), Vol. I, p. 29; Vol. II, pp. 67, 135, 140 and 153; *Iqbalnama* (Bib. Ind.), p. 114)

101. *Tuzuk* (R&B), Vol. II, p. 135. But Haidar Malik is not justified when he records that Dilawar Khan had forgotten to comply with the undertaking he had given to conquer Kishtwar immediately (*Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 124)

102. It is wrongly written as 'Sanginpur' by Mr. Rodgers (*Tuzuk* (R&B), Vol. II, p. 135), and also by Dr. Beni Prasad (Beni Prasad, *Jahangir*, p. 264). The correct name of the place is 'Singpur' (*Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 125). Singpur (Lat. 33° 28′, Long. 75° 37′) is a village situated above the bank of the Kasher Khol stream on the Kishtwar side of the Marbal pass. It lies about 32 miles north-east of the town of Kishtwar and 42 miles south-east of Anantnag (Bates, *op. cit.*, pp. 343-45)

103. It is not *Desu* as is wrongly written by Rodgers and Dr. Beni Prasad (*ibid.*). The correct name is Dusu (Lat. 33° 37′, Long. 75° 28′), a thickly wooded tract 7,400 feet above the sea-level at the foot of the western slope of the Chingam pass, between 3 or 4 miles south-east of Nowbug. It is situated at a distance of 12 miles from Kuthiar, and 43 miles from Kishtwar on the road connecting the two places (Bates, *op. cit.*, pp. 185-86; Neve, *Guide*, p. 84)

marched at the head of the second by way of Singpur. He also sent in advance a body of youngmen with his third son Jamal, to reconnoitre the country.

Their first encounter with the Kishtwaris took place on the left bank of the Maru river. They found that the Kishtwaris were commanded by the Kashmiri pretender Amba Khan Chak. They were defeated by the Mughals, and forced to retreat across the river. There they concentrated their strength behind the river line at Bhandarkot. From this strategical point they were able to withhold the Mughal advance for twenty days and nights. But once the forces of Jalal and Jamal were reinforced by those of Dilawar Khan, who came up after completing all commissariat arrangements from behind, the Raja of Kishtwar lost heart, and started overtures for peace. The redoubtable Dilawar, in the hour of victory, declined to obilge him. The Kishtwaris, realising the delicacy of the situation, demolished the bridge and escaped. This strategy rendered the situation very difficult for the Mughal troops. For four months and ten days their attempts to cross the river were foiled. In the end, however, a local zamindar showed them a favourable spot which was best suited for fixing the *zampa* and in the dead of night Jalal was able to cross the river along with some 200 Afghans. Quite unawares they fell upon the raja early next morning, and killed a large number of the Kishtwari troops. The raja was arrested and brought before Dilawar Khan. He produced him in chains before Jahangir on Tuesday, 21 March 1620.[104] In appreciation of his services Jahangir granted Dilawar Khan one year's revenue of Kishtwar which amounted to one lakh rupees.[105]

After its conquest Kishtwar was placed under Nazr Ullah Arab, who proved to be an unsuccessful administrator. He committed two fatal mistakes.[106] Firstly, he treated the zamindars and the inhabitants harshly, and, secondly,

104. *Tuzuk* (R&B), II, p. 139; Beni Prasad, *Jahangir*, p. 266
105. *Tuzuk, ibid.*
106. *Ibid.*, p. 170

he granted leave to his auxiliaries, who were anxious to complete their papers of promotion and adjustment of their demands. And he left himself with only a small number of troops for defence. The situation was a favourable opportunity for the Kishtwaris. They fell upon the Mughals, overpowered them, and killed Nazr Ullah Arab.[107]

The report of the revolt reached Jahangir in September 1620. Immediately he deputed Jalal with a large army and also ordered Raja Sangram of Jammu to reinforce him. Jalal failed in his duty. He was replaced by Iradat Khan.[108] As governor of Kashmir, Iradat Khan was able to restore law and order in Kishtwar. He posted Mughal pickets at all the strategical points. That was the end of rebillion in Kishtwar.

VI

SHAHJAHAN AND KASHMIR (1628-58)

Zafar Khan and the New Order (1632-33)

Although Jahangir manifested great laxity in tolerating abuses and oppressions of his provincial governors, particularly those serving in Kashmir, Shahjahan was not the person to tolerate lawlessness and autocracy. He selected provincial governors from men of admitted loyalty and efficiency. He would not tolerate incompetence or abuse in the provincial administration, and lost no time to remove even his favourite officers from their charge if their conduct was found to be unsatisfactory or complaints against them reached the Court.[109] He dismissed Azam Khan and

107. *Ibid.*, p. 171

108. Azam Khan *alias* Iradat Khan was the brother of Asaf Khan (Zafar). Jahangir bestowed on him the rank of 1,000 *zat* and 500 *sawar* and appointed him paymaster (bakhshi) of Patna and Hajipur. Subsequently he was raised to the rank of *mir saman* (head butler) and next he was appointed governor of Kashmir (*Tuzuk* (R&B), Vol. I, pp. 117-300, 372; Vol. II, pp. 15, 82, 175 and 209 to 210; *Maazir-ul-Umara* (Bib. Ind.), Vol. I, pp. 174-80)

109. Lahauri, *Badshahnama* (Bib. Ind.), Vol. II, pp. 158, 282 and 290; Saksena, *Shahjahan*, p. 279; Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, pp. 80-86

Shaista Khan from the governorship of Gujarat for their incompetence. He dismissed Itiqad Khan from the governorship of Kashmir for his oppressive conduct and instead appointed Zafar Khan for the second time because he had gained popularity among the Kashmiris.[110]

Itiqad Khan was appointed governor of Kashmir in 1622 and held the charge till 1632 when he was dismissed. He rendered his ten year's rule one of the most oppressive periods in Kashmir history. He caused much distress to the inhabitants by his oppressive taxes and autocratic rule. For example, he revived the obnoxious custom of *begar*, after it had been abolished by Akbar. Then he attached private fruit gardens,[111] and did not allow their owners to use the fruit themselves. When complaints[112] of his highhandedness reached Shahjahan, he dismissed him forthwith, and appointed Zafar Khan[113] to succeed him.

To inaugurate the new regime of peace, prosperity and tranquillity in Kashmir, Shahjahan ordered that all oppressive demands made arbitrarily by the former governors should be abolished forthwith, that the *farman* (imperial command) containing the new regulations should be inscribed on a stone-slab to be fixed up at some very pro-

110. Lahauri, *Badshahnama* (Bib. Ind.), Vol. II, p. 420

111. *Tarikh-i-Azam* (Ms), pp. 105-6

112. Qazwini, *Badshahnama* (Ms)

113. Ahasan Ullah, surnamed Zafar Khan, the son of Khawaja Abul Hasan, was appointed deputy-governor of Kabul under his father in 1624. He got the rank of 1,000 *zat* and 500 *sawar* and the title of Zafar Khan. At the death of Jahangir he distinguished himself by rendering faithful services in chastising Jajhar Singh Bundella, and in settling down the Deccan. In 1632 he was appointed in charge of Kashmir in place of Itiqad Khan, as deputy to his own father. At the death of the latter in 1633, he was confirmed as governor of Kashmir with a rank of 3,000 *zat* and 2,000 *sawar*. During his first governorship he reduced Little Tibet. In 1639, he was transferred but in 1642 he was reappointed governor of Kashmir in place of Tarbiyat Khan who had failed to cope with the great famine of 1642. In recognition of his popularity the emperor increased his rank and also wrote off one million rupees due to him. He died in 1662 at Lahore. He was very generous and appreciated talent. Of his generosity, Saib has spoken very highly. He was himself a poet of no mean order (*Maasir-ul-Umara* (Bib. Ind.), II, pp. 756-63)

minent place so that the people and their future rulers should know them.

Accordingly, the slab with the inscription was fixed on the southern gate-wall of the Jama Masjid which has been the most frequented place. And it lies there to this day.

The imperial *farman* proclaimed that the autocratic and oppressive rule of Itiqad Khan had ceased, and the emperor demanded implicit and ungrudging obedience of all government officials to the new regulations. While inviting the attention of the present and future administrators of Kashmir, the *farman* ends in these words: 'Noble governors and useful collectors and tax-gatherers of the present and future times in the province of Kashmir should consider these commands as lasting and eternal. Nor should they admit any change or alternation in these regulations. Whoever admits any change or alteration shall fall under the curse of God and the anger of the king.' The following is the verbatim English rendering of the *farman*[114] which is in Persian:

'God is Great!

Shahjahan, the emperor, defender of the Faith!

(Copy of the auspicious Order of His Majesty who occupies the place of Solomon the Lord of the Conjugation, the Second, which was recorded on the 7th of Isfandarmuz of the month of *Illahi* on account of petition of the least of slaves Ahsan Ullah *alias* Zafar Khan with reference to the removal of the oppressive innovations practised by the former governors in this beautiful Kashmir, and with the cause of the ruin of the subjects and inhabitants)

Farman

'Since all our exalted desire is turned and bent on the felicity of the subjects, accordingly we order the repeal of certain acts which in this beautiful country of

114. For copy of the *farman* in original Persian, see Appendix-G. A copy is also reproduced in the *Badshahnama* of Qazwini.

Kashmir became a cause of distress to the inhabitants of the land. Of the number of these matters the first is that at the time of collecting saffron men have been impressed for this work without any wages except a little salt, and hence the people are suffering much distress. We order that no man shall by any means be forced to collect the saffron; and as regards the saffron grown on the *khalisa* lands, labourers employed be satisfied by payment of suitable wages and whatever grows on *jagir* lands, the *jagirdar* shall gather it as he pleases. The second irregularity is that previously some of the governors of Kashmir used to levy two *dams* against the supply of fuel, on each *kharwar* of *shali*. Itiqad Khan during his government, levied four *dams*. Since people were much distressed on this account as well, we hereby command that they should entirely be relieved of this tax, and nothing be realised on account of fuel. The third grievance is that a village whose revenue exceeds 400 *kharwars* of *shali* was forced by the authorities to supply two sheep annually in addition as a *rasum*. Since on this account also the people were distressed, we order that it should entirely cease. Neither should the sheep be taken nor money in their place. The people should be relieved of this impost. Moreover, Itiqad Khan levied 75 *dams* on each boatman irrespective of his age, whilst the established practice was to levy 60 *dams* on a young-man, 12 on an old man, and 36 on a boy. We order the continuance of the former practice; that the innovation of Itiqad Khan has ceased and the people shall not comply with it any more. Another irregularity is that the governors, in the fruit season, placed their own men in the gardens which appeared to bear a good harvest, to watch the fruit for themselves and did not allow the owners of these gardens to use the fruit. The people were so much annoyed that some of them destroyed the fruit trees. We command that no governor shall lay an embargo on or attach the fruit of the garden or orchard of any one.

It is proper that noble governors, useful collectors and tax-gatherers of Kashmir at present and in future should in no way deviate from them. Whoever admits any change or alteration will fall under the curse of God and the anger of the Sovereign.'

(Written on 26th *Adar* (March) of the *Illahi* month)

The *farman* has tremendous historical importance. It enumerates the various cruel and oppressive taxes and perquisites (*rasum*) which unsympathetic, greedy, unscrupulous and parochial governors of Kashmir like Itiqad Khan collected from the population and thereby caused them much distress and poverty. At the same itme, it bears ample testimony to the close personal interest and decidedness of Shahjahan for establishing good, peaceful and orderly administration in all parts of his kingdom, and equally so for the removal of all types of administrative abuses and innovations which caused distress to his subjects.

Conquest of Ladakh and Baltistan (1634)

The remote country of western Tibet, then known as Ladakh and Baltistan, had from a long time offered asylum to the rebels of Kashmir. The Chak pretenders to the throne of Kashmir took refuge in these districts and in Kishtwar till suitable opportunity enabled them to create disturbance in the valley and to harass its rulers.

Akbar followed a conciliatory policy towards the chiefs of these districts. He sent Baba Talib Isfahani[115] and Mehtar

115. Originally Talib Isfahani came from Isfahan as an ascetic and settled down in Kashmir which he made his home in the reign of the Chaks. Being a saintly person, Yusuf Shah Chak treated him with utmost consideration. He was a man of parts, a poet and a puritan. He was also experienced in political matters and tried his utmost to reconcile the Chaks to the rule of Akbar the great. Having failed, he decided to serve Akbar who sent him as his ambassador to Ali Rai, the ruler of Baltistan (*Akbar-nama, op. cit.*, III, p. 838). Badauni writes that he was origially a religious mendicant, and then became an official and entered the service of Akbar, and wrote a treatise on the wonders of Little Tibet. He died over 100 years

Yari as his ambassadors[116] to them. On his part, Ali Rai,[117] the chief of Little Tibet (Baltistan), presented the hand of his daughter to Salim as a token of submission. During the early years of the reign of Jahangir, Abdal, son of Ali Rai, offered asylum to Chak pretenders to the throne of Kashmir, and caused trouble in Kashmir. Jahangir sent Hashim Khan,[118] governor of Kashmir, to invade Baltistan, but he met with disastrous failure.[119] The bold but stubborn Abdal used Habib Chak and Ahmad Chak, two Chak refugee princes, as tools against the Mughals in Kashmir. They caused much trouble and disorder during the governorship of Itiqad Khan.[120] The latter crushed the Chaks, but failed to arrest their leaders.

When Zafar Khan was appointed governor of Kashmir to succeed Itiqad Khan in 1632, Shahjahan ordered him to conquer Tibet and to punish Abdal. Zafar Khan set out on his daring adventure with twelve thousand horsemen and foot soldiers. It took them one month to reach Skardu.[121] To complete the conquest and subjugation of the country

old in Kashmir (Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* (text), Vol. III, p. 265; (Lowe), p. 388; *Tuzuk* (R&B), II, p. 119)

116. *Akbarnama, ibid.*, III, p. 838

117. Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* (Lowe), II, p. 388

118. He was the son of Qasim Khan Mir Bahr. At the death of the latter in Kabul in 1596, he was presented to the emperor and became a recipient of his favours. In 1567 he was sent to put down the rebel Raja Basu. Subsequently, he distinguished himself in investing Asirgarh and Nasik forts in recognition of which Akbar appointed him to the rank of 1,500. In 1605 Jahangir raised his rank to 2,000 *zat* and 500 *sawar* and appointed him governor of Orissa. In 1611 he was appointed governor of Kashmir (*Maasir-ul-Umara* (Bib. Ind.), Vol. III, pp. 940-41; *Tuzuk* (R&B), Vol. I, p. 199)

119. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, VIII, p. 62; Saksena, *Shahjahan*, p. 113

120. Saksena, *ibid.*, p. 114.

121. Baltistan or Little Tibet is composed of enormous mountain chains varying in height between 18,000 to 28,000. In between lies the longest known glaciers and the valleys of Skardu and Shigar. Skardu is mostly an uncultivated plain formed by a waste of sand and stones (Drew, *op. cit.*, p. 360)

he found two strong forts[122] whose reduction was essential. Before that could be attempted he found the peasantry distressed and disaffected owing to the harsh rule of Abdal. He was very considerate to them and treated them with kindness; thereby he succeeded to create division in the strength of Abdal.[123] Then he despatched troops to invest the fort of Shigar,[124] which was held by Abdal's son, a youth of 15 years. He was overpowered and took to flight, leaving behind the family of Abdal which fell into the hands of the Mughals. The circumstances compelled Abdal to sue for peace. He read the *khutba* in the name of the emperor Shahjahan and paid one million rupees as indemnity.[125] Zafar Khan also got hold of the families of Habib Chak and Ahmad Chak. Then he returned to Kashmir bringing with him Abdal, his family, and the Chak captives. He left behind Muhammad Murad, the *vakil* of Abdal, in charge of the country.[126]

Shia-Sunni Riot (1635)

During the regime of Zafar Khan, Srinagar became the scene of a violent conflict between the Shias and Sunnis.[127] It so happened that one summer day in 1635, some Muslims of Srinagar had collected in the Maisuma garden when it was full of mulberry fruit. While they were merry-making there arose some altercation between some Shias and Sunnis. The Shias used foul language against the *khalifas* of the

122. These forts are mentioned as *Kaharphucha* and *Kahchana* with a road of access like the neck of a reed and the curve of a talon (Elliot and Dowson, *Hist. of Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 62)

123. *Ibid.*

124. Shigar is another small valley some three miles in width in Little Tibet (Baltistan). Along the sides of the valley rise steep rocky mountains of 7,000 feet or a higher level. The valley is occupied by a sandy and stoney bed. But the village of Shigar is a long tract of cultivated land situated on the left bank of Shigar river and is the most delightful place in all Baltistan (Drew, *op. cit.*, p. 635)

125. Saksena, *op. cit.*, p. 114

126. Elliot and Dowson, *Hist. of Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 63; Saksena, *ibid.*, p. 114

127. *Tarikh-i-Azam* (Ms), pp. 116-17

Prophet, and the Sunnis in exasperated mood demanded suitable punishment for the Shia revilers. Zafar Khan, who had weakness for Shias, did not take any prompt action, with the result that the Sunnis led by Khwaja Khawand Mahmud,[128] then head of the Naqashbandi Muslims in Kashmir, became violent and set fire to Shia dwellings. However, Zafar Khan was able to restore tranquillity and order when he had secured the banishment of Khwaja Mahmud from Kashmir.

Great Famine (1641)

In 1641, during the governorship of Tarbiyat Khan, Kashmiris suffered great hardships as a result of famine.[129] It was caused by heavy and continuous rainfall which destroyed the *shali* crop. The scarcity of foodstuffs became so acute that over 30,000 people migrated to Lahore. In utter distress they presented themselves before Shahjahan and appealed for relief. Their wretched condition touched him so much that he gave them a lakh of rupees in cash and also ordered that ten kitchens should be opened to provide free cooked food for them as long as they remained in Lahore. He also sent thirty thousand rupees to Tarbiyat Khan to be distributed among the destitute in Srinagar and also ordered that five centres should be opened in the valley to provide free food for the needy. But Tarbiyat Khan[130] failed to

128. Khwaja Khawand Mahmud originally belonged to Bukhara. He became a disciple of Khwaja Muhammad Ishaq at an early age and then perfected himself under Khwaja Baha-ud-din Naqashband. In India he settled in Gujrat and then came to spread the famous Naqashbandi order in Kashmir. In commemoration of Khwaja Baha-ud-din Naqashband he founded the extant *khanqah* of Naqashband Sahib in Srinagar. Naqashbandis of Kashmir have since been a very important religious as well as a political community in the valley. They played, interplayed and counterplayed with the Hamadanis (*Tarikh-i-Azam* (Ms), pp. 137-139; Ghulam Sarwar, *Khazinat-ul-Asfiya*, pp. 282-83)

129. Lahauri, *Badshahnama* (Bib. Ind.), Vol. II, pp. 282-83

130. Tarbiyat Khan came to India in the reign of Jahangir from Turan. He got the title of Tarbiyat Khan in recognition of his services during the trouble of Shaharyar. In 1633 Shahjahan deputed him to Turan in the company of the Turanian ambassador. It is stated that at the time of his

cope with the situation. He was replaced by Zafar Khan whom the emperor provided with an additional sum of 20,000 rupees for relief work. Zafar Khan fought the crisis satisfactorily.

VII

AURANGZEB AND KASHMIR (1658-1707)

After waging bloodcurdling wars of succession against his brothers, Aurangzeb succeeded to the Mughal throne in 1658, and died in harness although a broken-hearted, repentant man, in 1707.

During his long, eventful reign of 48 years Kashmir, although remotely situated, could not remain unaffected by the social, political and cultural upheavals of Aurangzeb's reign. Her history varied according to the character and administrative calibre of the governors who were either the emperor's own choice or that of his ministers. They were Sunnis or Shias. As before some of them were appointed two or three times, a very sad precedent indeed, while some acted like absentee landlords, entrusting the reins of government to their deputies who remained responsible to them and not to the central government. No doubt, a couple of them were well-meaning, god-fearing and efficient administrators. They established law and order, treated Sunnis, Shias and Hindus alike, abolished oppressive taxes, and laid out gardens, buildings, charitable establishments which added to the natural beauty of the country and economic prosperity of the population.

During the entire span of Aurangzeb's reign, the governnors changed more than twelve times; none of them

departure for Turan he dressed himself after the Turanian fashion. The sight delighted Shahjahan so much that he raised his rank and status. In 1637 he was appointed governor of Kashmir. But having failed to cope with the famine relief work here, he was dismissed and succeeded by Zafar Khan. He died as a result of heart failure consequent on the displeasure of the emperor because he and Mulla Fazil Kabuli had dissuaded him from entering upon the conquest of Balakh and Badakhshan (*Maasir-ul-Umara* (Bib. Ind.), Vol. I, pp. 487-89)

administered for more than seven years at a stretch, while some for a year or two only.

The following is the list of the governors of Kashmir during the reign of Aurangzeb with a short description of the regime of each:

(1) *Itimad Khan* (1659-62)

He succeeded Lashkar Khan, the last governor of the time of Shahjahan in Kashmir. As man he was a learned theologian and a great builder. He laid out a very lovely garden. As administrator, he exerted his utmost to establish a just and beneficial government. He dispensed even-handed justice, and got almost all administrative and executive matters decided in his presence. He was accessible to all.

(2) *Ibrahim Khan* (1662-64)

He was the son of Ali Mardan Khan, the famous builder-architect and diplomat of the reign of Shahjahan. He was a Shia, and the Shias of Kashmir, although a small minority, took undue advantage of his presence. They took possession of certain holy places belonging to the Sunnis, particularly the shrine of Saiyid Jamaluddin and unnecessarily caused them offence. The Sunnis got exasperated when Ibrahim Khan supported the cause of the Shias. When these developments came to the notice of Aurangzeb, he appointed Qazi Abul Qasim to decide the case. The Qazi delivered his judgment in favour of the Sunnis and Ibrahim Khan was dismissed.

(3) *Islam Khan* (1664-65)

He was a painstaking and well-meaning administrator and a poet. He provided for the needs of the theologians and encouraged them to devote their time and energy to the spread of Islam. He rebuilt the Ali Masjid at Idgah, a sixteenth century dilapidated structure, and lined its extensive compound with chinar trees.

But the most outstanding event of his governorship was

the first and last visit of Emperor Aurangzeb in 1663.[131] Dr. Francois Bernier, the famous French physician and traveller, also visited Kashmir at the same time in the train of his employer Danishmand Khan, a noble of Aurangzeb. He has left an eye-witness account[132] of this journey which contains references to historical features, natural beauty and culture of Kashmir. He mentions Kashmir as 'paradise of the Indies'.

Aurangzeb visited Kashmir mainly to recoup himself in its cool and invigorating climate after a very serious illness. But his experience of the long, arduous and at places dangerous journey was a sad one.

Aurangzeb stayed in the valley for three months and visited many pleasure spots. In Srinagar, he stayed in the palace on the slope of the Hari Parbat hillock, overlooking the Dull lake. During his tours through the valley, Aurangzeb observed many things which did not agree with his bigoted and ultra-Islamic mentality. For instance, he found women in Kashmir moving about without drawers. Secondly, he saw opium being cultivated at Kakapore. Thirdly, and perhaps worst of all, he saw the theatrical performances of indigenous actors and mummers of Kashmir, locally known as *bhands*.

In the first case, he ordered the governor of Kashmir to compel the people, particularly the women-folk, to wear drawers or trousers in order to cover nackedness of their legs.[133] In the second case, he revolted to see opium being cultivated and the drug used in Kashmir. He ordered that

131. There is confusion among authorities regarding the date. Muhammad Azam, a contemporary, mentions the year 1073 A.H. = 1663 A.D. (*Waqiati Kashmir*, p. 137). Maulvi Hasan, a historian of early 20th century, mentions 1075 A.H. = 1665 A.D. *Alamgirnama*, official history of Aurangzeb, mentions 1073 A.H. or 1663 A.D. But Bernier's account mentions 1665 A.D., which appears to be a clerical error (Bernier, *Travels*, Constable edition, p. 391). See also Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, II, 66; V. A. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p. 425, J. N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, V, p. 420; Baron Hugel, *Travels in Kashmir*, p. 144)

132. Bernier, *Travels*, pp. 393-431

133. *Ruqati Alamgiri* (Raza Lib. Rampur, Ms.), p. 132; *Kalimati Tayyibat*; Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Calcutta, 1921, III, p. 89.

its cultivation should be discontinued. As far as professional actors and mummers were concerned, Aurangzeb felt that they were pursuing an un-Islamic trade, and ordered that they should be disbanded and their trappings and musical instruments confiscated. At the end of the letter to the governor of Kashmir he stressed, 'For the sake of God it is binding on us all to order lawful acts and prohibit uncanonical ones.'[134] But Aurangzeb's orders remained a dead letter. Even now Kashmiri women continue to move about without drawers. Opium continued to be cultivated until recent times, and the professional *bhands* still ply their trade as ever before.

Aurangzeb's bigotry and ignorance of local conditions was not confined, as far as Kashmir was concerned, to issuing the above-mentioned orders. What appears very highhanded and cruel in him was that he directed the governor of Kashmir, Saif Khan (1665-68), to send to court Mulla Tahir Ghani, the greatest Persian poet of Kashmir, and the great Brahman ascetic Rishi Pir Pandit.[135] In either case, Aurangzeb had to eat the humble pie. In the case of Ghani, when the governor approached him with the imperial command the latter offered all possible excuses. When nothing appeared to help, he suddenly turned mad, tore his garments to shreds and shortly after passed away. The early sudden death of the greatest Kashmiri Persian poet of his generation will ever remain a blot on the character of Aurangzeb.

Mulla Muhammad Tahir, famous as 'Ghani Kashmiri', was a pupil of Mohsin Fani. He was one of the great Indian poets of his age who wrote in Persian. He 'was one of the few Indian poets of Persian whose fame had travelled to Persia and whose poetry and mastery of Persian diction was admitted even there'.[136] His poetry attracted the renowned Persian poet Saib to meet him in Srinagar, and to

134. *Kalimati-Tayyibat;* Jadunath Sarkar, *ibid.*

135. Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 195

136. Professor Edward Browne, quoted by Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, in his *Convocation Address*, Sri Pratap College, Srinagar, 5 July 1940, p. 13

learn from him the meaning of the Kashmiri idiom occurring in one of his couplets.[137] Ghani remained all his life self-respecting, independent and least wordly.[138] He declined Aurangzeb's invitation and preferred death to becoming an imperial dandy.

Ghani's poetic talent blossomed against the backdrop of the geographical and cultural *milieu* of Kashmir and the incessant political vicissitudes it had passed through. He had developed a profound insight into the psychology of his countrymen who had heroically braved their misfortunes, whether caused by nature or man. He had developed unshaking faith in secularism, social justice and individual freedom. He was a great humanist, a friend of the down-trodden and a fervent apostile of the philosophy of self-help.

In the second case, tradition states that Aurangzeb had heard of the miraculous powers of the Pandit saint, who was addressed as 'Pir Pandit Badshah' by the Kashmiris To put him to test or to weaken his spiritual powers, or whatever Aurangzeb's intentions could have been, he ordered that the saint should be sent to court. Like Ghani he hesitated to go. When the situation appeared helpless he employed his spiritual powers in a way that compelled Aurangzeb to rescind his quixotic orders.[139]

(4) *Saif Khan* (1665-68)

A son of Tarbiyat Khan, Saif Khan was a formidable man of iron, an efficient and strict administrator. He struck terror in the hearts of lawless people and abolished

137. The couplet is:

'Moi miane tu Shudah Karalpan
Kardah Juda Kasai sarha ze tan.'

The Kashmiri idiom *Karalpan* means 'potter's thread'

138. His verse:

'Sai ruzi bar na me darad mara az Jai Khesh
Abru Chun Shama me rezm wale bar pai Khesh.'

It brings out in a nut-shell his philosophy of life (See *Diwani Ghani*, Munshi Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, pp. 140-44)

139. Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 195

corruption with a heavy hand. For example, Khwaja Muhammad Sadiq, a revenue collector, was lashed to death for submitting false accounts. The rebel chief of Ladakh was brought in chains to Srinagar, forced to embrace Islam, and then despatched to Delhi. Islam was introduced in Western Tibet, a Jama Masjid was built there, and the *khutba* was read and coins were minted in name of Aurangzeb.

Then there occurred yet another incident of Shia-Sunni conflict. It so happened that during this time Shaikh Abdul Rashid Chickan, a leading Sunni, was proceeding to Cherrari Sharif on a pilgrimage. At Tsodur he was shown disrespect by Hasan Malik, the top Shia leader, and the son of the historian Haidar Malik. Hasan Malik further injured the sentiments of Chickan when he abused the first three khalifas. Shaikh Abdur Rashid lodged a complaint before governor Saif Khan, who held Hasan Malik guilty of blasphemy. However, to oblige certain influential elements in the country he delayed prosecution. But afraid of Aurangzeb, he submitted a detailed report of the case to him; and Aurangzeb ordered that Hasan Malik should be killed.

Saif Khan was a noble builder. He laid out the garden of Saifabad, on the banks of the Dull lake.

(5) *Mubariz Khan* (1668-69)

He was a good-natured, simple-minded, conservative person. He used to walk barefooted up to the Jama Masjid to offer prayers. This cannot be said of the Uzbeg soldiers who formed his bodyguard. They committed all sorts of lawless acts and tortured the people. The feeble governor who depended entirely on their support looked on helplessly.

(6) *Saif Khan* (1669-72)

He was selected governor for the second time and appointed Qazi Abdul Rahim his deputy. During his time there occurred a devastating earthquake. It came and went several times from morning till evening when houses rocked like cradles. Saif Khan took deep personal interest to

implement his grow-more-food scheme on an extensive scale. He founded the new township of Mahmudabad and there assigned land to the tillers. In 1670 he spanned the Safa Kadal bridge over the Jehlam in Srinagar.

(7) *Iftikhar Khan* (1672-75)

He was a benefactor of his subjects and a good administrator. But the people were not destined to enjoy peace and tranquillity, for the great fire of 1673 destroyed 12,000 homes in Srinagar and the Jama Masjid too was burnt. Aurangzeb, however, got the mosque rebuilt stronger and more majestic than ever before, while the homeless people were left to their own fate.

(8) *Qawamuddin Khan* (1675-78)

He was a noble natured Iranian. He earned popularity as a just and generous governor. He showed no mercy to law-breakers whatever their social status.

(9) *Ibrahim Khan* (1678-85)

He was appointed governor for the second term. Although luxurious and very easy-going in his habits, he found time to establish law and order. Some natural calamities, however, caused great hardships to the people. For example, in 1683, continuous rains over-flooded the river Jehlam and destroyed the standing crops, many houses and lots of cattle. In the following year, severe earthquake raised to the ground many dwellings and killed many people. Soon after the marauding tribe of the Qazaks from Central Asia began to cause depredations in Ladakh and Baltistan. The governor sent his son, Fidai Khan, with a large army against the intruders. They were defeated, severely punished, and many of them were brought to Srinagar in chains.

But the most distressing event of Ibrahim Khan's present regime was the Shia-Sunni conflict of 1685. It so happened that in Hasanabad, an entirely Shia quarter, one

Abdus Shakur, his son and son-in-law had a brawl with one Muhammad Sadiq, a Sunni. They seized him and put him to torture. Even a solitary incident like this caused deep exasperation to the Sunnis, and the situation took a serious communal turn when Fidai Khan, the governor's son, took up the cause of the Shias and give them all sorts of encouragement. Thereupon the Mughal Sunni officials in the town also came to the rescue of the Sunnis. There ensued a regular civil war, in which many lives and lots of property were destroyed. The governor was compelled to surrender the original culprits, namely Abdus Shakur, his son and son-in-law, to the Sunnis who put them to death, and also any Shia who fell into their hands. The situation became so serious that top functionaries of the government, the chief *mufti*, chief *qazi*, the *bakhshi* and the *diwan* were also put under arrest by the Sunnis. At long last, however, when the emperor[140] came to know about these developments, he dismissed Ibrahim Khan, the governor, put him under arrest, and appointed Hafiz Ullah Khan governor instead.

(10) *Hafiz Ullah Khan* (1685-89)

Immediately after assuming the reins of government, Hafiz Ullah Khan occupied himself with restoring law and order and chastising the miscreants with unprecedented severity. Then he defeated the rebel Raja of Jammu also.

(11) *Muzaffar Khan* (1689-92)

He was the son of Shaista Khan, who had been murdered by Sivaji, the great founder of the Mahratha power. He was one of the most hard-hearted and gasping governors Kashmir has known. To ventilate his grievance against the

140. Aurangzeb is stated to have ordered: 'Ibrahim Khan should note that My Majesty has come to know from a large body of Kashmiri petitioners that this vindicative odious man (i.e. Ibrahim Khan) caused the death of so many Musalmans. However, I direct Hafiz Ullah Khan to take charge of Kashmir, and that wretch (Ibrahim Khan) should treat himself to have been dismissed and under arrest' (Hasan, *op. cit.*, p. 381)

Mahrathas, he burdened helpless Kashmiris with imposts such as, *chauth* (one-fourth of government collections), *damdari* (tax on bird-catchers), and *namaksari* (tax on salt) which brought him an income of sixty thousand *tankas*.[141]

(12) *Abu Nasr Khan* (1692-98)

The brother of the late governor Muzaffar Khan, Abu Nasr Khan, out-heroded Muzaffar Khan as a greedy and tyrannical ruler. He tried to squeeze the last penny out of the population.

(13) *Fazil Khan* (1698-1701)

He took keen, personal interest in dealing out even-handed justice and establishing law and order in the country. He abolished all tyrannical taxes which had been levied by his predecessors, Muzaffar Khan and his brother, Abu Nasr Khan. His singular contribution was introduction of the Mansabdari system in Kashmir, and appointment of a few most talented and deserving Kashmiris on Mughal *mansabs* (army cadres) for the first time.

He was God's goodman, a reputed builder and an architect. He build the bund at Haft Chinar, near Hazuri Bagh (Srinagar), to save the city from recurrent floods of the Doodhganga river. He lined the bund with chinar trees in order to strengthen it. He laid out religious establishments at Hasanabad and at Jogilankar, in Rainawari (Srinagar).

The most important event, both historically and culturally, of his regime was the arrival of the *Mui Mubarak*[142] (Sacred Hair) of the Prophet Muhammad in Srinagar, in the year 1699. One Khwaja Nur-ud-din Ishbari, an affluent

141. *Ibid.*, pp. 382-83

142. Azam, *Wakiati-Kashmir*, p. 156. The date 1699 A.D. (1110 A.H.) of the arrival of the holy relic is obtained from the chronogram, *Kashmir Madina Shud az moi Nabi*, in the following verse of Qalandar Beg:

'Mohtajan ra ba wakti hajat talabi
Moi madad ast az Rasuli Arabi
Tarikh nazul ba yake "Hatif" guft,
Kashmir Madina shud az Mui Nabi'

Kashmiri merchant, had bought the hair in Bijapur (Deccan). When the holy relic was brought to Srinagar and lodged at its present picturesque site, in the Hazrat Bal Mosque, overlooking Dull lake, since rendered famous as the custodian of the *Hazrat Bal*, or the "Prophet's Hair', all Kashmiris manifested great joy. All nobles, dignitaries, maulavis and *ulama*, in fact, the entire population, gave the hair an unprecedented, rousing reception, which it deserved.

(14) *Ibrahim Khan* (1701-6)

He was appointed governor for the third term. On this occasion he seems to have returned a better informed, better cultured and a more civilised man. He left nothing to chance to afford all possible opportunities of peace and tranquillity to the population for which he rightly earned their affectionate appreciation and the title *Sulah Kul* (benefactor and friend of all).

(16) *Nawazish Khan Rumi* (1706-7)

When his appointment was gazetted he named, as a diplomatic necessity, Mullah Ashraf, who was *diwan* of Kashmir and the righthand man of Ibrahim Khan, his deputy. Soon, however, he revised the decision and appointed Abdullah Khan Dehbedi instead. He had not reached Srinagar when news of the death of Aurangzeb flashed with lightning speed.

VIII

LATER MUGHALS AND KASHMIR (1707-52)

When Aurangzeb died in his camp at Ahmadnagar on 3 March 1707, no one at the moment bothered to look into the will which he had left under his pillow. He knew there would be deluge after his death; and he was himself to blame for all that followed. His three surviving sons, Muazzam, Azam and Kam Bakhsh, were actuated by the same motives which had led to the war of succession be-

tween him and his brothers. The history repeated itself until Mughal empire was left with its name only.

After a grim and bloody contest, the eldest brother Muazzam, who was also called Shah Alam, proclaimed himself emperor, with the title of Bahadur Shah, in 1707. He was able to keep the Rajput chiefs quiet, and he put down the Sikh rebel movement led by Banda Bairagi in the Punjab. He died in 1712, a good, old man of 69, leaving behind four sons to contest for the throne.

As usual, after the war of succession, Jahandar Shah, the eldest and most worthless son of Bahadur Shah, was proclaimed emperor in 1712. He was murdered after a short and disgraceful reign of eleven months by his father's minister Zulfiqar Khan, at the instigation of his brother Farrukh Siyar, who himself became the emperor. At the best of times he made pretentions of being very clever and diplomatic. To rid himself of the taxing and turbulent influence of Zulfiqar Khan, he succeeded to get him and other nobles assassinated because their conduct was suspicious. Then he attempted to establish a reign of terror. But he could not succeed against the machinations of the wicked Saiyid brothers, Saiyid Abdullah and Saiyid Hussain Ali. They succeeded, in a short time, to wield so much power and influence that they threatened the very existence of Farrukh Siyar himself. In fact, when Farrukh Siyar, like a vainglorious, pig-headed fool, plotted through his cowardly and selfish nobles to wrest power from the hands of the Saiyid brothers, he himself fell as easy prey. They succeeded to depose him, blinded him, and finally got him killed in a very dastardly manner, in 1719. Now the crown lay in their hands and they tried it, in less than one year, on the heads of several phantom emperors—Rafi-ud-Darajat, Rafi-ud-Daulah (Shahjahan II), Neku Siyar and Ibrahim—who were all worthless nincompoops and quickly disappeared one after another; finally they were replaced by Muhammad Shah in 1719.

Muhammad Shah was lucky enough to keep the crown till 1748, when he died. Although as bad and timid as his

predecessors, he was nevertheless able to terminate the regime of the haughty and disloyal Saiyid brothers. Saiyid Husain Ali was assassinated and Abdullah was put in prison. But the most important event of his reign was the very sad episode of Nadir Shah (1738-39), who sacked Delhi, looted the precious treasures of the great Mughals, and left the empire in a shrivelled state.

The sack of Delhi was not wholly Muhammad Shah's responsibility. It was the direct consequence of the party system of the times. Apart from its repercussions on the central structure of the empire, it encouraged fissiparous tendencies which led ultimately to the break-up of the Mughal empire, and creation of several autonomous provinces. Kashmir was one of them.

The story of the party system is an interesting one. At the death of Jahandar Shah in 1713, a new phenomenon appeared in the politics of the times. It was the role of the soldiers of fortune to decide who should wear the crown from a group of contemptible and utterly worthless princes. While sovereignty rested nominally with the puppet rulers, the real power was wielded by the leader of the party in power.

The struggle for power remained confined to three parties, namely, the Turanis, the Iranis and the Hindustanis. Each of them in its heyday played the double role of king-makers and 'king's friends'.

The Turani party consisted of the Mughal nobility and their retainers. They had originally migrated from Trans-Oxiana, that is the huge land mass which extends from the river Oxus, and comprises the whole of Central Asia, now known as Soviet Uzbekestan and Chinese Turkestan. They settled in India after Babar founded the Mughal empire. They formed the backbone of the Mughal nobility and soldiery, the cream of the army of occupation. They were Sunnis like the reigning Mughal emperors, and much larger numerically than the Iranis.

The Iranis originally came from Persia in the train of Humayun. Many famous saints, scholars and soldiers of

fortune of the Mughal times, belonged to this community. They had not once been guilty of disobedience or treachery to their master. But they insisted on being treated with great honour, like the Sunnis, and it was, therefore, 'very difficult to get on with them', said Aurangzeb.[143] They were all Shias.

The Hindustanis, on the other hand, were indigenous. Their leaders were mostly the offsprings of converted Rajput chiefs. They had become a strong and influential middle class by dint of their intellectual and military talents more than as big mansabdars. They 'would part with their heads but not with their positions in battle'.[144] Most of them were Sunnis and some Shias. In politics, unlike their contemporaries, they usually behaved as Indians. The Saiyids of Bilgram and the Saiyids of Barha were their two outstanding branches. Both were Shias. While Bilgramis distinguished themselves in the fields of art and letters, the Barhas rendered themselves notorious in politics, particularly during the reign of Farrukh Siyar.

Culturally all the three parties were one; but politics divided them. Apparently the clash of interests originated from sectarian differences. The Turanis, Iranis and Hindustanis would not see eye to eye with each other. Each group nursed enemity and jealousy for the other. Their mutual struggles for power sapped their own strength. In their political dealings with the Hindustanis, the 'foreigner' and 'indigenous' began to determine important national issues. The Turanis and Iranis on occasions combined against the Hindustanis, when the latter manifested nationalist sentiments. Those who invited Nadir Shah in the reign of Muhammad Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali on several occasions, during the reign of the successors of Muhammad Shah, and those who fought against the invaders, were largely motivated by the sentiments of the non-Hindustani and Hindustani. As a result, India fell an easy prey to the invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali. Nadir Shah's

143. For Aurangzeb's testament, see Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Calcutta, 1924, Vol. V, p. 265

144 *Ibid.*, p. 266

conquest broke the spell that India was invincible. The Mughal Empire fell like a pack of cards, only 31 years after the death of Aurangzeb.

Kashmir also felt the repercussions of these rivalries and political vicissitudes. In the welter of surrounding chaos, Kashmiri leaders were compelled to adjust themselves to changing conditions. Kashmir seceded from the Mughal empire.

During the forty-six years from the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 to the annexation of Kashmir to the kingdom of Kabul by Ahmad Shah Abdali in 1753, the throne of Delhi was occupied by seven Mughal emperors, namely, (1) Bahadur Shah (1707-12), (2) Jahandar Shah (1712-13), (3) Farrukh Siyar (1713-19), (4) Rafi-ud-Darajat (1719-19), (5) Rafi-ud-Daulah (1719-19) (6) Muhammad Shah (1719-48), and (7) Ahmad Shah (1748-54).

The following table* gives the names of the governors (*subahdars*) and their deputy-governors (*naib-subahdars*), who administered Kashmir during this period, and important events of their times:

* See pp. 333-38

Mughal Emperors	*Governors*	*Deputy Governors*	*Important Events*
1. Bahadur Shah (1707-12)	1. Nawazish Khan (1707-07)		Interested himself in calligraphy and poetry only.
	2. Jafar Khan (1707-09)	1. Abdullah Khan Dehbedi	During his regime of one-year-and-three-months he addicted himself to drinking and issued reckless orders which caused much distress to the people.
	3. Ibrahim Khan *alias* Ali Mardan Khan (1709-09)	2. Ditto	Died after three months.
	4. Nawazish Khan (second term) (1709-11)	3. Arif Khan	Arif Khan established peace and Kashmir began to show signs of returning prosperity. But natural calamities undid his good work: heavy rains destroyed crops; fire in Safakadal (Srinagar) gutted 40,000 dwellings.
	5. Inayat Ullah Khan (1711-12)	4. Amanat Khan	Amanat Khan was a kind and just administrator, but he died after nine months.
		5. Mushrif Khan (three months)	Death of Bahadur Shah in 1712.
2. Jahandar Shah (1712-13)	6. Inayat Ullah Khan (second term) (1712-13)	6. Ditto	The Bomba chief Raja Muzaffar Khan caused depredations in Karnal; troops were rushed against him, but assassination of Jahandar Shah stayed firm action.

Mughal Emperors	*Governors*	*Deputy Governors*	*Important Events*
3. Farrukh Siyar (1713-19)	7. Sadat Khan (1713-17)	7. Ali Muhammad Khan (1713-15)	Action against the Bomba chief Raja Muzaffar Khan was resumed in right earnest. He was forced to come to terms and his grandson Haibat Khan was taken to Srinagar as security for his good conduct. Abdur Razak Khan, the rebel chief of the Gujars of Punch, was humiliated and forced to pay huge indemnity for causing unrest and depredations in the valley.
		8. Azam Khan (1715-16)	
		9. Ali Muhammad Khan (second term) (1716-17)	
		10. Ahtiram Khan (1717-17)	
	8. Inayat Ullah Khan (third term) (1717-20)	11. Mir Ahmad Khan (1717-20)	He put down recalcitrant elements with a high hand.
4. Muhammad Shah (1719-48)	9. Ditto	12. Ditto	Serious Hindu-Shia-Sunni communal conflicts caused in 1720 by Mulla Abdun Nabi, *alias* Mahtavi Khan.

	13. Abdullah Khan Dehbedi (second term) (1720-20)	
10. Abdul Samad Khan (1721-23)	14. Monim Khan (1720-20)	
	15. Abdullah Khan Dehbedi (third term) (1720-21),	
	16. Abu Barakat Khan	In 1722 Abdul Samad Khan suppressed communal disturbances and restored order.
	17. Arif Khan (1722-22)	
	18. Najeeb Khan (1723-23)	Abdul Samad Khan was dismissed in 1723.
11. Azam Khan (1723-24)	19. Abdullah Khan Dehbedi (1723) (fourth term)	Severe famine of 1723; rice became as precious as gold.
12. Inayat Ullah Khan (fourth term) (1724-25)	20. Fakhr-ud-din Khan (1724-25)	Inayat Ullah Khan died in 1725.

Mughal Emperors	*Governors*	*Deputy Governors*	*Important Events*
	13. Aqidat Khan (1725-27)	21. Abu Barakat Khan (second term) (1725-27)	Administration deteriorates and disorder spreads far and wide.
	14. Aghar Khan (1727-29)		With notorious Abu Barakat Khan as deputy, law and order came to a standstill; both high and low suffered the consequences.
	15. Amir Khan (1729-36)	22. Abu Barakat Khan (third term) (1729-31)	Although himself only a deputy-governor Abu Barakat Khan appointed Jaliluddin Khan his own deputy (*naib-i-naib*).
		23. Ahtiram Khan (1731-31)	Severe famine and assassination of notorious grain stockists.
		24. Abu Barakat Khan (fourth term) (1733-37)	Bomba risings, killings and lootings in Baramulla under Raja Haibat Khan, suppressed by Mir Jafar Kanth. Khanqah Muala Mosque rebuilt in 1733. Great flood of 1735.
	16. Dil Diler Khan (1736-37)	25. Jaliluddin Khan (1737-37)	Dispute between Abu Barakat Khan and Mir Jafar Kanth led to depredations by the Gujars of Punch and chaos in the country in 1737.

17. Fakhar-ud-Daulah (1737-38)	26. Qazi Khan (1737-37)	Rebellion of Mir Jafar Kanth.
18. Inayat Ullah Khan II (1738-40)	27. Hassamuddin Khan (1738-38)	The deposed Fakhar-ud-Daulah imprisoned Hassamuddin Khan, the deputy, and in 1738 brought a mandate from Nadir Shah to rule over Kashmir. But Kashmiris rose against him, refused to recognise him and compelled him to quit.
	28. Abu Barakat Khan (fifth term) (1739-39)	Abu Barakat Khan fell out with his chief Inayat Ullah Khan; many lives were lost in the scuffle. Defeated Inayat Ullah Khan recovered authority with the help of the Bombas in 1740. He was killed in 1742.
19. Asad Ullah Khan (1740-44)	29. Abu Barakat Khan (sixth term) (1740-44)	Assassination of the rebel leaders and murder of Inayat Ullah Khan by Abu Barakat Khan. Babarullah Khan's rebellion, and Bomba and Gujar depredations.
20. Abu Mansur Khan (1745-48)	30. Jan Nisar Khan Sher Jang (1745-45)	Arrest and externment of Abu Barakat Khan and assassination of Babarullah Khan and other mischief-mongers.
	31. Afrasiyab Khan (1745-48)	Kashmir suffered devastating effects of famine and civil strife caused by the followers of Mahtavi Khan in 1748.

Mughal Emperors	*Governors*	*Deputy Governors*	*Important Events*
5. Ahmad Shah (1748-53)	21. Abu Mansur Khan (second term) (1748-51)	32. Afrasiyab Khan (second term) (1748-51)	Afrasiyab Khan assassinated in 1751.
		33. Ahmad Khan, son of Afrasiyab Khan (two months) (1751-51)	
		34. Malik Hasan Irani (two months) (1751-51)	
	22. Quli Khan (1751-51)	35. Mir Muqim Kanth (1751)	For the first time a leading Kashmiri noble, Mir Muqim Kanth, was appointed deputy-governor; rebellion of the soldiery under Abul Qasim Khan, son of Abu Barakat Khan, because Mir Muqim Kanth resumed their jagirs and reduced their pay. Mir Muqim's house was set on fire and he retired. Abul Qasim Khan proclaimed himself governor. Mir Muqim Kanth and Khwaja Zahir approached Ahmad Shah Abdali, at this time master of the Punjab, in 1752, to annex Kashmir.

A study of the foregoing table reveals that in a pericd of forty-six years, fifty-seven governors and deputy-governors came to administer Kashmir. On an average, they held charge for less than a year. What is more, some deputy-governors ruled several times and one of them at least by proxy. For the first time, in 1738, a renowned Kashmiri noble, Inayat Ullah Khan II, was appointed governor. Then, the appointment in 1751 of Mir Muqim Kanth, a leading local noble, to the post of deputy-governor shows the force of the voice of the people.

So many changes of governors and deputy-governors in less than fifty-years were the direct result of the quickness with which king-makers changed in Delhi. It had a pernicious effect on the administration of Kashmir. No doubt, there were both good and bad examples of governors and deputy-governors, but the overall condition of the country remained unsatisfactory, often chaotic. We have examples of governors and deputy-governors like Arif Khan, Inayat Ullah Khan, and Abdus Samad Khan who maintained law and order, and attempted to establish tranquillity and prosperity in the country. On the other hand, men like Jafar Khan (1707-9), Ali Muhammad Khan (1713-15), Aghar Khan (1727-29), Jalil-ud-din Khan (1737), Abu Barakat Khan (1732-44) and Afrasiyab Khan (1746-51) blackened their record by following a ruthless, rapacious, lawless policy. They remained totally blind to the needs and requirements of the masses. The darkest period, however, was the rule of Afrasiyab Khan (1746-51). He ruled ruthlessly and remained callous to the woes and tears of the people. They were subjected to misery and want by the Gujar raiders from Punch and the Bombas of Muzaffarabad.

The intrusion of the Gajars and Bombas was a new phenomenon in the politics of Kashmir and proved very excruciating to the population for a long period. There was acute scarcity of food; a rupee did not fetch two seers of rice. People were compelled to dispose of their belongings and bartered away their children for food. Many died, un-

Mughal Emperors	*Governors*	*Deputy Governors*	*Important Events*
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Mughal Emperors	*Governors*	*Deputy Governors*	*Important Events*
5. Ahmad Shah (1748-53)	21. Abu Mansur Khan (second term) (1748-51)	32. Afrasiyab Khan (second term) (1748-51)	Afrasiyab Khan assassinated in 1751.
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continued ... eous loans ... as an ... ll identi- fiable community ... But continued

encounter ... [illegible] ... all pole ... [illegible] ... of ... B. bashing

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wept and unsung, the river Jehlam serving as their common graveyard. Those who could quitted Kashmir and went to Lahore, Sialkot and Delhi.[145]

In short, the reign of the later Mughals brought Kashmir face to face with adversity, lawlessness and death. There occurred severe earthquakes and devastating floods and famines, particularly those of the years 1724, 1735, and 1746, caused appalling mortality, which reduced the population considerably, and denuded the country of its economic and agricultural potential. As a result of chaotic conditions in the Punjab due to the Sikh and Pathan disturbances, the inflow and outflow of trade was brought to a standstill. Means of communication, transport and commerce were disrupted and rendered dangerous. The Shia-Sunni-Hindu riots were followed by depredations of the Bombas and Khakhas of Muzaffarabad and the Gujars of Punch. These happenings have great historical significance, and we shall deal with them separately below.

(1) *Shia-Sunni-Hindu Conflict*

Kashmir had had amongst the Muslim population both Sunnis and Shias. Sunnis had been in an overwhelming majority. But Shias remained 'the cleverest race among the children of Islam'. They were welcomed in the court and camp of Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan. Aurangzeb 'tolerated them as a necessary evil'. He gave them excuses to feel that they were unwanted people.[146]

Under good Muslim governors who possessed no sectarian prejudices, the relations between the Sunnis and Shias in Kashmir remained generally cordial. Under bigoted Sunni or Shia rulers they became very strained and caused communal disorders and riots. So it happened during the governorship of Inayat Ullah Khan.

145. Hasan, *op. cit.*, pp. 428-29
146. See *Ahkami Alamgiri* and *Kalimati Tayyibat*

Inayat Ullah Khan,[147] who had been appointed governor of Kashmir for the second time during the reign of Farrukh Siyar, continued to hold office when Muhammad Shah ascended the throne. Evidently, he could not afford to remain away from the court. Therefore he appointed Mir Ahmad Khan his deputy to govern the country for him. Mir Ahmad Khan was able to maintain peace and order for quite a long time. Unfortunately, once more the communal bogy raised its ugly head and disturbed the public peace and caused much loss of life.

The first target at this time were the Pandits. It so happened that Mahtavi Khan, otherwise known as Mullah Abdun Nabi,[148] had been appointed chief theologian of Kashmir in the reign of Bahadur Shah. He was a learned man and a leading jagirdar. He had distinguished himself as a soldier of fortune in the Kabul and Peshawar campaigns which brought him to the notice of the emperor. His greater faults were that he was bigoted and covetous. He abused his official position and social status for personal aggrandisement, as well as, for the propagation of Islam. He forbade the Pandits to observe their religious rites, for instance, to wear turbans, to ride horses, to put on religious marks (*tika*), to wear clean clothes, and to use leather shoes,[149] etc. Then he appointed his agents to realise heavy fines from those who infringed these orders. All these restrictions obviously implied that the Pandits should either

147. His original name was Atiat Ullah Khan. He was given the title of Inayat Ullah Khan which was previously held by his talented father. He was a descendant of the family which had a distinguished record of services. His mother, Hafiza Maryam, was the teacher of the ladies of Aurangzeb's *harem*, particularly his talented daughter Zeb-un-Niza Begum. Hafiza Maryam's mother, Jan Begum, had taught the princesses in the reign of Shahjahan. Inayat Ullah Khan I was one of the most famous literary figures of the time of Aurangzeb. He compiled the *Ahkami Alamgiri* and *Kalimati Tayyibat*. He was charming and, at the same time, very god-fearing, simple and honest. (Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, p. 401)

148. *Ibid.*, pp. 401-62; Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Calcutta, 1874, II, p. 870; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, *op. cit.*, III, p. 761

149. Hasan, *ibid.*, p. 402, Azam, *Waqiati Kashmir*, p. 190

embrace Islam or suffer torture. The Pandits were numerically a very small community, but they wielded great influence in the valley.[150] They rose in revolt in which they were joined by the Shias. Soon, Mulla Abdun Nabi and his two sons were seized and they were killed on 12 September 1720.[151]

Thereupon, his third son, Mulla Sharaf-ud-din, took up the cudgels, to avenge his father's murder. He was joined by the Sunnis, and the situation took a very ugly turn. The Shias suffered in many ways.[152] They were looted, many were killed, and Zadibal, the hub of their activities, was once more reduced to ashes. The deputy-governor Mir Ahmad Khan and his two successors, Abdullah Khan Dehbedi and Monim Khan, failed to cope with the difficult situation. As a result, all the three were dismissed one after another and Inayat Ullah Khan, their chief, was compelled to resign. He was succeeded by Abdus Samad Khan.[153]

Accompanied by his deputy, Abdullah Khan Dehbedi, Abdus Samad Khan arrived in Srinagar at the head of a large army in 1721. Immediately, he took the field against Mulla Sharaf-ud-din, defeated him, killed him and sent 50 of the ringleaders to the gallows, which were specially erected for the purpose on a mile long causeway from Naid Kadal to Khwaja Yarbal,[154] in Srinagar. Having established order, he treated the Pandits with extreme generosity and kindness, and abolished all restrictions which had been imposed on them by Mahtavi Khan.[155]

150. Azam, *ibid.*, p. 190

151. Azam, *ibid.*, p. 191; Hasan, *op. cit.*, p. 401; Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, (Calcutta, 1874), II, p. 870 et. sq.

152. Azam, *ibid.*

153. He was the father of Zakariya Khan, governor of Lahore. He had won his spurs against Banda Bairagi, the rebel Sikh leader.

154. Hasan, *op. cit.*, p. 402

155. The Pandits remained so grateful to him, and in appreciation of his secular, humane attitude, the bard sang in Kashmiri:

'Haqqa! av Samad Phutrun Zin
Na rud Kuni Sharaf na rud Kuni Din.'

(Anand Kaul, *Kashmiri Pandit*, p. 50)

Translation: 'Certainly when Samad (Abdus Samad Khan) came riding

(2) *Khakha-Bomba and Gujar Intrusions*

Of still greater significance was the intrusion into the valley of the marauding hill tribes of the lower Jehlam valley, known as the Khakhas and Bombas, and the Gujars of Punch and freebooters of Kishtwar. Whenever they found the central administration weak and the country defenceless, the Khakhas and Bombas swooped upon the valley. They came, killed, looted and returned. Their repeated lootings and killings struck such terror in the minds of the Kashmiris that their name became a byword for something very dreadful.[156] Their predatory operations continued until 1846 when Maharaja Gulab Singh, assisted by the British troops, was able to comb them, kill them and render them incapable of repeating their forays.

During the administration of the deputy-governor Ali Muhammad Khan (1713-15), the Bomba chief, Muzaffar Khan, having highhandedly annexed Karna, started depredations in the Baramulla district also. Ali Muhammad Khan crushed him and put his grandson Haibat Khan under arrest as security for peace. Then he arrested another freebooter, the Gujar chief Abdur Razzak Khan of Punch, and treated him ignominiously.

Again in 1732, during the deputy-governorship of Abu Barakat Khan, Raja Haibat Khan, the chief of the Khakhas and Bombas, raided and pillaged Baramulla. Abu Barakat Khan proceeded in person against him. The invaders who lay in ambush in the jungle terrain, suddenly swooped down upon the Kashmiris killing many of them. Abu Baraket Khan, however, purchased peace by paying a large sum of money to Haibat Khan. But it turned to be an illogical compromise, since it whetted the greed of the invaders for more. For the second time Haibat Khan rose in revolt in 1736. His followers carried fire and sword through the length and breadth of Baramulla. At this time Mir Jafar

a swift horse, Sharaf (Sharaf-ud-din) disappeared along with his bigotry'

156. We have still its recollections in the terms 'Khukh' and 'Bumb', by which Kashmiri mothers frighten their children the same way as the name 'Bonie' does in Europe

Kanth, a well-known Kashmiri general, marched at the head of a considerable force against the rebels. He chastised them severely and compelled them to accept his terms.

Unfortunately, Abu Barakat Khan did not show Mir Jafar Kanth the consideration which he deserved for accomplishing his duty so heroically. He felt so offended that he behaved unpatriotically. He incited the Bomba leader to revolt and to repeat plunder, arson and death in the valley. Abu Barakat Khan failed to cope with the trouble and the Kashmiris revolted against him in 1737, and destroyed the bridges on the Jehlam. Abu Barakat Khan by way of retaliation set fire to some quarters of Srinagar which destroyed 20,000 dwellings. Then he bought off the Gujar chief Abdur Razzak of Punch, and there ensued terrific guerrilla warfare between the Kashmiris and Gujars. Many lives were lost. Abu Barakat Khan was defeated and he fled to Lahore. Kashmir relapsed into chaos. The happenings in the Punjab and Delhi as a result of Nadir Shah's invasion cut off all communications with Kashmir and considering it a favourable opportunity the Kashmiri leaders declared their independence.[157]

In the meantime Fakhar-ud-Daulah, who had only recently handed charge of the governorship of Kashmir, succeeded in obtaining a mandate from Nadir Shah to be the ruler of Kashmir on his behalf. Accompanied by an army of the Gujars of Punch, he came from Lahore to establish his claim. But the Kashmiri leaders refused to admit it and rose in revolt.[158] However, he proved stronger for them. He harassed them, killed many and collected huge indemnities. When, however, Nadir Shah made peace with Muhammad Shah in 1739, Inayat Ullah Khan was reappointed governor of Kashmir and Fakhar-ud-Daulah was compelled to surrender and to quit. Abu Barakat Khan once more came as deputy-governor on behalf of Inayat Ullah Khan. This time he acted differently for he turned a traitor and challenged the authority of his chief. This led to a

157. Hasan, *op. cit.*, pp. 409
158. *Ibid.*, p. 410.

bloody war between the two. The field adjoining the Jama Masjid was littered with dead bodies. Inayat Ullah Khan was defeated and compelled to quit Kashmir. Now Abu Barakat Khan became ruler of Kashmir by his own right. Undaunted Inayat Ullah Khan assembled a large following of the Khakhas and Bombas of Muzaffarabad and Karna and once more assaulted Abu Barakat Khan. On his part Abu Barakat Khan collected huge army of the Gujars of Punch and made a surprise attack on Inayat Ullah Khan. There ensued a massacre of the Gujars, Khakhas and Bombas. In between many Kashmiris were also killed and much property was destroyed. Peace was, however, restored when Inayat Ullah Khan was assassinated.[159]

Fresh trouble was created by Babar Ullah Khan, the *thanedar* or district commissioner of Baramulla. Having conceived the idea of independence he collected a large following of Khakha, Bomba, Gujar and Kishtwari freebooters and caused an uprising against his chief, Abu Barakat Khan. The people in the valley once more fell a prey to disorder, loot and arson. The sad state of affairs continued till Abu Mansur Khan was appointed governor in 1745. His deputy Jan Nisar Khan Sherjang (1745) soon got hold of Abu Barakat Khan and expelled him to Delhi. Then he seized all rebel leaders, killed many, imprisoned many, and sent their ring-leader Babar Ullah Khan to the gallows. Only then he was able to establish peace and order.

Yet he was not able to restore the economic stability of the country. As a result of repeated lootings and killings by the Khakhas, Bombas and Gujars, the means of livelihood in the valley had been reduced to the minimum. Not satisfied with their distress Afrasiyab Khan, the next deputy-governor (1748-51), wounded the feelings of the masses by treating them ruthlessly and unsympathetically. Innumerable people died like dogs due to starvation and those who could quitted Kashmir for ever and settled in the Punjab and Delhi.[160]

159. *Ibid.*, p. 423
160. Azam, *op. cit.*, p. 214; Hasan, *op. cit.*, pp. 428-29

IX

END OF THE MUGHAL RULE

The Mughal rule lasted in Kashmir for 167 years (1586-1753). Although a fairly long period, its record is one of missed opportunities. There were indeed great landmarks of progress and advance during the reign of the great Mughals. There was much give and take both culturally and economically. But the reign of the later Mughals, particularly, stands out as a monument of chaos, popular frustration, official corruption and economic degradation. Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan attempted to keep the hopes of the Kashmiris alive. They attempted to give Kashmir a clean administration, peace and economic prosperity as much as could be possible in those times. They gave patronage to Kashmiri saints, men of art and letters, and nobles, irrespective of religious considerations. They paid visits to the valley as often as they could. They kept themselves in close touch with the condition of the people and the conduct of the government, and took personal interest in their welfare and tranquillity. Akbar laid out the new palace of Nagar Nagar and within the surrounding wall the Mughal nobility and soldiery were put up to avoid menace and molestation to the local population. Jahangir and Shahjahan laid out the famous Mughal gardens, and built the pacca Mughal highway which connected Kashmir with the Punjab. They spent crores of rupees on these projects where Kashmiri labour was entirely employed, and thereby their economic condition was considerably improved.

After Aurangzeb, however, the signs of approaching chaos and maladministration became prominent. Because the later Mughals, by and large, were a band of idiots, party wranglings in Delhi became frequent. During this effete and warring age Kashmir began to be neglected and she began to recede into the background. Her economy was tremendously disrupted, when 'gangs of robbers closed the roads to trade and peaceful traffic', and 'utter desolation and

disorder seized'[161] the Punjab which was the nexus of Kashmir trade. What is worse, Kashmir was ruled by governors and deputy-governors who were mostly ignorant of local conditions and traditions and also lacked administrative experience. With their officials and soldiery they behaved like an army of occupation, and bled Kashmir white. They were amateurs and came to make hay while the sun shines, and to have a gay time too. The result was a long period of unrelieved chaos when men with strong arms and large following made confusion worse confounded. There were civil wars, sectarian riots, and repeated marauding incursions of the hill-tribes from the lower Jehlam valley and Punch. As if these calamities by themselves were not sufficiently appalling to bend if not break the spirit of the Kashmiris, there occurred on several occasions devastating earthquakes and floods which caused widespread chaos. Poverty, starvation and lawlessness compelled many people to quit their country. All these circumstances encouraged Ahmad Shah Abdali to conquer Kashmir and to annex her to his Afghan kingdom.

161. J. N. Sarkar; see William Irvine, *Later Mughals*, Vol. II, p. 378.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Kashmir Under The Pathans (1753-1819)

ESTABLISHMENT OF PATHAN RULE

IN 1752, AHMAD SHAH ABDALI invaded the Punjab for the third time. He defeated its governor, Muin-ul-Mulk, and spread terror over the whole of Northern India.

At this time Kashmir was governed by Abul Qasim Khan,[1] the son of Abu Barakat Khan. He had usurped the government after displacing Mir Muqim Kanth.[2] Thereupon the disgruntled, but grossly selfish and unpatriotic Kashmiri leaders, Mir Muqim Kanth and Khwaja Zahir-ud-din Diddamari,[3] sent their agents to Ahmad Shah Abdali with the offer to conquer Kashmir and annex her to his dominions, considering it a good riddance. Ahmad Shah Abdali, who seems to have already included Kashmir in his scheme of conquests, leaped at the offer. He despatched Abdullah Khan Ishaq Aqasi, one of his trusted generals, at the head of an Afghan army of 15,000 strong to conquer

1. He usurped the government of Kashmir in 1752 displacing Mir Muqim Kanth. Soon, however, he antagonised the Kashmiris by his high-handed and ruthless rule. He sent his sepoys against Mir Muqim Kanth to set fire to his house and loot his belongings (Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, p. 435)

2. He had earned much fame as a soldier of fortune in the wars against Khakhas and Bombas. He was a noble of great credit and gradually wielded much influence and popularity. In 1751 he was appointed deputy governor by Quli Khan. But the opposition party led by Abul Qasim Khan displaced him in 1752 (*Ibid.*, pp. 434-35)

3. He was a rich and influential Kashmiri noble. He held the post of *diwan* during the regime of Afrasiyab Khan and Malik Hasan Irani, whom he deposed. Later he acted as *dewan* of Mir Muqim Kanth. He was assassinated by Abul Qasim Khan in 1752 (*Ibid.*, pp. 434-36)

Kashmir. The Afghan army was opposed by the army of Abul Qasim Khan at Shupian, in 1753.[4] The war lasted for 15 days. In the end Abul Qasim Khan was defeated, arrested and then sent as a prisoner to Kabul, when the commander of his army, Gul Khan Khybari, defected to the enemy. Abdullah Khan Ishaq Aqasi entered the capital, Nagar Nagar (Hari Parbat), in great triumph and established the Pathan rule in Kashmir in 1753.

Before we describe the Pathan rule in Kashmir it is necessary to know who these Pathans were. They were the inhabitants of the vast mountainous terrain lying between the rivers Indus on the east and Kabul on the west. They included all the strongest and most warlike Qabali tribes, such as Afridis, Waziris, Mohmands, Swatis, Pakhtoons, etc. They were fundamentally a nomadic people split up into so many tribes and clans that made their nomenclature intriguing. In India they served as soldiers both under the Turks and Mughals. But they shot into prominence during and after the rule of Sher Shah Sur (1540-55). Their turbulent nature and the rugged and mountainous character of their homeland had a tremendous impact, politically as well as culturally, on their neighbouring countries; their native characteristics rendered them frightening and boorish. For instance, they remained exceedingly grasping, avaricious and generally disloyal. They deserted one master for another. It was only after the sweeping and triumphant conquests of Ahmad Shah Abdali that they were able to wield immense power to become independent rulers of Afghanistan and the adjoining territories; Kashmir was one of them.

Ahmad Shah Abdali, or Durrani, a Pathan by origin and upbringing, was able in a short period to carve out a mighty kingdom whose limits were the Caspian Sea in the west, the Punjab and Kashmir in the east, and the Oxus in the north. Baluchistan and Khurasan paid tribute to him. When he inflicted a crushing defeat on the Maratha confederacy,

4. Hasan, *op. cit.*, pp. 435-36

on 14 January 1761, on the battle-field of Panipat, he reached the height of his power, and established his reputation as a mighty conqueror. He died in 1773 and was succeeded by his son Timur Shah, a youth of 27 years of age, but strongest of the four brothers. He, however, made a bad start when he transferred his capital from Kandahar to Kabul. He invaded India five times, and it was during his fourth invasion against the Sikhs in the Punjab, that trouble brewed against him in his own country and also in Kashmir. Soon Sind, the Punjab, Balkh, Bukhara and Turkestan became virtually independent. Kashmir was at this time ruled by Azad Khan, who also declared his independence.

Timur Shah died in 1793, leaving behind 32 sons, and his fifth son, Zaman Shah, then only 23 years of age, was able to ascend the throne with the help of the Barakzai leader, Painda Khan. Zaman Shah's reign, on the whole, was inglorious. He had constant troubles from his brothers and from Iran. The empire became so weak and shrivelled up that in 1799 he was compelled to part with Lahore to Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The loss of Lahore and increasing power of Maharaja Ranjit Singh had a tremendous impact on the relations of Afghanistan with its feudatory states, particularly Kashmir. In 1800, Zaman Shah fell a prey to the conspiracy of his disgruntled chiefs. He was ousted from the throne and blinded in 1801. That was the fate of Zaman Shah who had once been a most dreaded Afghan ruler. He was succeeded by Shah Shuja, a spineless Pathan, who was soon deposed by his brother Mahmud Shah, who became king of Afghanistan, with the support of Wazir Fath Khan Barakzai, the Pathan king-maker of his time. Mahmud Shah ruled Afghanistan as his puppet.

Mahmud Shah had ruled rather peacefully for some thirty months when dispute between Shia and Sunni tribes disturbed the peace of the country. Afghanistan was crippled, both politically and economically, which enabled Shah Shuja to make another bid for the throne. Mahmud Shah was imprisoned and Shah Shuja became king in 1802. Soon,

however, a long period of anarchy intervened which led to the dismemberment of the Afghan kingdom. Shah Shuja himself had to run from pillar to post. During these peregrinations he was whisked away to Kashmir only to be treated as a state prisoner by its governor Ata Muhammad Khan. Then along with Ata Muhammad Khan he was compelled to place himself at the disposal of Maharaja Ranjit Singh through the good offices of general Mukham Chand. Subsequently, he sought British protection at Ludhiana, and became tool of their diplomacy in Afghanistan. Meanwhile, Afghanistan suffered the consequences of wars between Mahmud Shah and his brothers, etc., and the Afghan governors of Kashmir ruled, more or less, independently till June 1819, when Kashmir was conquered and annexed by Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

CHARACTERISTICS OF PATHAN RULE

For 66 years (1753-1819), Kashmir remained under the rule of five Pathan kings, Ahmad Shah Abdali (1753-72), Timur Shah (1772-93), Zaman Shah (1793-1800), and Shah Shuja and Mahmud Shah (1801-19). Like the Mughal rulers they also sent their governors to Kashmir to rule for them. In all 28 Pathan governors[5] and deputy-governors

5. *Pathan Governors and Deputy-Governors of Kashmir* (1753-1819)

I. *Under Ahmad Shah Abdali* (1753-72)

1. Abdullah Khan Ishaq Aqasi (1753-53) = six months.
2. Khwaja Abdullah Khan Kabuli (1753-53) = four months, and 7 days.
3. Raja Sukhjewanmal (1753-62) = 8 years, 4 months and 8 days.
4. Nur-ud-din Khan Bamzai (1762-62) = 3 months.
5. Buland Khan Bamzai, son of Nur-ud-din Khan, (1762-64) = 2 years.
6. Nur-ud-din Khan: 2nd term (1764-66) = 1 year and 6 months.
7. Lal Mohd. Khan (Upstart) (1766-66) = 6 months.
8. Khurrum Khan (1766-67) = one year.
9. Faqir Ullah Khan (1768-69) = one year.
10. Nur-ud-din Khan: third term (1768-69) = 1 year.
11. Khurram Khan: 2nd term (1770-70) = 6 months.

II. *Under Timur Shah* (1772-93)

12. Amir Khan Jawansher (1770-77) = 6 years and 4 months.

ruled over Kashmir. In a couple of cases a son succeeded father. In some cases governors ruled independently. But all governors were not Pathans, nor were they all Sunnis or all Shias. We have for the first time example of a Hindu, namely Raja Sukhjewanmal, who ruled for more than eight years, and was more popular with the Kashmiris than most of the Pathan governors. Only nine governors ruled for periods extending between 2 years and 11 years, the rest of them ruled for some months only. For the first time, we come across names of some Kashmiri Pandits[6] who shot into prominence as administrators, revenue collectors and diplomats.

13. Haji Karimdad Khan (1777-83) = 7 years.
14. Azad Khan (1783-85) = 2 years and 5 months.
15. Madad Khan Ishqzai (1785-86) = 9 months.
16. Mirdad Khan (1786-88) (he appointed Mulla Ghaffar Khan his deputy) = 2 years and 1 month.
17. Mulla Ghaffar Khan (1788-88) = 4 months.
18. Juma Khan Alkozai, (1788-93) = 4 years and 7 months.

III. *Under Zaman Shah* (1793-1800)

19. Rahmat Ullah Khan (1793-93), son of Juma Khan = 3 months and 12 days.
20. Mir Hazar Khan (1793-94) = one year and 2 months.
21. Rahmat Ullah Khan, son of Juma Khan (18), 2nd time, (1794-94) = 4 months.
22. Kifayat Khan (1794-94) = 3 months; entrusted government in the hands of Mirza Badr-ud-din.

IV. *Under Shah Shuja and Mahmud Shah, etc.* (1801-19)

23. Mohammad Khan Jawansher (1795-95).
24. Abdullah Khan Alkozai and Ata Mohd. Khan — 11 years and 6 months.
25. Wazir Sher Mohd. Khan and his son Ata Mohd. Khan (1806-13) = 7 years.
26. Wazir Fath Mohd. Khan (1813-13).
27. Sardar Mohd. Azim Khan (1813-19) = 6 years.
28. Jabar Khan, (1819-19).

6. The best example was Pandit Nand Ram Tiku who rose from a humble station to be *diwan* of Kabul. Other examples are Pandits, Mahanand Dhar, Kailash Dhar, Dila Ram Quli, Sahaz Ram Sapru, Diwan Hara Das, Balbadhar Dhar (Bir Dhar), Rajakak Dhar, Munshi Bhawani Das, Vasa Kak Dhar, etc., who acted as tehsildars, *sahibkars* (chief secretaries) *peshkars* (magistrates and collectors) and *dewans* (collectors-general) of the Afghan governors

Some of the Afghan governors were excellently law-abiding and humane. Some oppressed both the Muslims and Hindus and squeezed them like the horse leech. There were others, too, who were examples of wretched bigotry, and caused Shia-Sunni riots on several occasions; on a couple of occasions, Kashmiri pandits, who happened to be the only Hindus in the country, were savagely treated and tyrannised.[7] Whenever administration became lax internally or there were symptoms of rebellion, the marauding Khakha, Bomba and Gujar hill-tribes, ever on the look-out from the periphery of the valley, swooped down upon the people carrying loot, arson and murder. They left behind political chaos, economic distress, famines and starvation deaths.

Some Pathan rulers themselves were typical examples of terrorists. Their rule was cruellest and worst of all.[8] When conditions became most intolerable, one of the Kashmiri patriots, the most daring and gallant Pandit Birbal Dhar, managed to approach Maharaja Ranjit Singh with the appeal to conquer Kashmir. His appeal was accepted and he was able to rid the people from the turbulent Pathans. And Maharaja Ranjit Singh conquered Kashmir on 15 June 1819, and annexed the country to his dominion.

Mentioned below are the names of the governors who ruled over Kashmir on behalf of the Pathan kings of Kabul during 1753-1819, and main features of the administration of each.

GOVERNORS UNDER PATHAN KINGS (1753-1819)

Abdullah Khan Ishaq Aqasi (1753)

He remained in Kashmir for hardly six months which he rendered one of the darkest periods in history. He left the stamp of a tyrant on the mind of the population. His

7. We have the harrowing example in Mir Hazar Khan, the governor in 1793. See Mir Hazar Khan *infra*.

8. Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 196

misdeeds indicated that the future was going to be worse than the past. He laid the foundations of the government with the blood and tears of the Kashmiris. He tyrannised them and killed many in order to extract all the money they possessed. In one case he collected the huge figure of one lakh of rupees by sheer torture.[9] Then he denuded the country of its rich art treasures which had been collected during the reign of the Mughals and laid his covetous hands even on the famous Mughal gardens whose pavilions he deprived of their precious stones. Like this he is said to have amassed a booty of one crore of rupees which he carried away to Kabul. He had disrupted the economy of the country, and the financial position became extremely tight. Money became scarce and business came to a standstill; and eighty flourishing Indian business[10] houses were compelled to close their business.

Obviously, Abdullah Khan Ishaq Aqasi was responsible for the woes and tears of the people, both high and low. They began to simmer with rebellion which appears to have compelled him to quit the country after entrusting its government to Khwaja Abdullah Khan, his deputy, and Lala Sukhjewanmal, chief secretary.

Raja Sukhjewanmal (1753-62)

But Khwaja Abdullah Khan had to pay for the sins of Abdullah Khan Ishaq Aqasi. Within less than four months after he assumed the reins of government, Sukhjewanmal, supported by Abul Hasan Khan Bandey, one of the most popular and distinguished nobles of Kashmir, was able to get him assassinated along with his two sons. Then he proclaimed himself governor of Kashmir in 1753. He was the first Hindu to be the ruler of Kashmir after over four hundred years. He appointed Abul Hasan Khan Bandey chief minister and minister for revenue and law. Gradually the country began to regain shape and form of a peaceful administration.

9. Hasan, *op. cit.*, p. 447
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 447-48

Meanwhile, Ahmad Shah Abdali treated the conduct of Sukhjewanmal as rebellion. Since he happened to be engaged in a life and death struggle with Iran on the one hand and the Punjab on the other, he allowed Sukhjewanmal to continue. He confirmed him as governor, but, at the same time, deputed one of his own trusted officials, Khwaja Kijak, to be the deputy-governor, the aim being to keep a close watch over Sukhjewanmal's activities. Then to harass him and to dislocate his administrative affairs, he demanded an exorbitant tribute equal to ten times the revenue of the country, ostensibly to replenish his treasury drained by his Sikh and Maratha campaigns.

The demand by itself was so preposterous that Sukhjewanmal found it impossible to satisfy, particularly when Kashmir had only recently been drained of its wealth by Abdali's own governor, Abdullah Khan Ishak Aqasi. Under the circumstances, Sukhjewanmal took his ministers into confidence in order to find a way out. His chief minister Abul Hasan Khan Bandey advised him to resist and revolt. Others like Khwaja Kijak, Malik Hasan Irani and Azam Khan, who were Abdali's agents, naturally opposed this decision. What is more, they went to Baramulla and there raised the banner of revolt. Supported by loyal Kashmiris and his army, Sukhjewanmal marched to Baramulla and engaged the rebels in a terrific encounter. They were crushed; many were killed, including the three ringleaders, Khwaja Kijak, Malik Hasan Irani and Azam Khan, and many were expelled from the country. After his great accomplishment Sukhjewanmal returned to Srinagar in triumph, and proclaimed the Mughal emperor Alamgir II (1754-59) sovereign, as a necessary evil. From Alamgir he received the title of the *Raja*.

These developments naturally exasperated Ahmad Shah Abdali. Unmindful of his campaigns against the Iranis, Sikhs and the Marathas, he despatched Abdullah Khan Ishaq Aqasi, who had already deeply wounded the heart of the people of Kashmir, with an army of 30,000 strong to depose Raja Sukhjewanmal. The raja had, in the meantime,

made suitable preparations for war. He received sizable help from the Khakha chief Bhera Khan also. The Kashmir troops confronted the Afghans at Hyderabad (Punch) and gave them a crushing defeat. Many were killed and many were made prisoners of war. They were brought down to Srinagar wearing paper caps[11] as a mark of humiliation and degradation and, at the same time, to arouse national enthusiasm among the Kashmiris.

Now the raja, advised by Abdullah Khan Bandey, adopted certain measures for the better security and safety of the country in the future. To begin with, he dismissed all those *maliks*, or the wardens of the marches, who had acted disloyally. They were replaced by those who had given proof of their loyalty. Secondly, he disbanded all Khakha, Bomba and Gujar soldiers whose loyalty was doubtful, and instead recruited Sikhs and Sansis who were loyal to him.

But Kashmir appeared to be under some curse. In the year 1755, there occurred an untimely snowfall which destroyed the standing crops. Simultaneously, a mighty swarm of locusts invaded the valley and destroyed what had remained of them. Foodstuffs became scarce and precious. But the chief minister, Khwaja Abul Hasan Bandey, rose to the occasion. He was indeed a man of great pluck and resourcefulness. He took immediate steps to relieve the distress of the people. He had in his stores some two lakh *kharwars* of *shali*. He took a house-to-house census of the city population, and supplied each family with rations to suffice for six months.[12] At the same time, he distributed a lakh of *kharwars* as taccavi loan among the cultivators.

In 1757, when the British had defeated Nawab Siraj-ud-Daulah at the field of Plassey, the Sikhs were able to wrest

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.* This is perhaps the first occasion when we know that rationing was introduced in Srinagar officially. The same method was employed by the Sikh and Dogra rulers continuously till 1947. The same method is being followed at present.

Punjab from Afghan control. These developments encouraged Raja Sukhjewanmal also to extend his dominion. He attacked Bhimbar, Akhnur and Sialkot. But he failed to subdue Sialkot because its Afghan ruler, Yar Khan, was amply assisted by Raja Ranjit Dev of Jammu.

In the meantime, nemesis had started working against Raja Sukhjewanmal. His relations with his most trusted and loyal minister, Abul Hasan Khan Bandey, became extremely strained as a result of the cunning machinations of Mir Muqim Kanth, lately deputy-governor. He had recently been released from Kabul on purpose, namely, to act as Ahmad Shah Abdali's secret agent. Bandey was deposed and disgracefully treated. The ensuing tug-of-war between Bandey and Kanth shot into prominence the Dhar family whose stars seemed to be in the ascendant. The leading Pandit Mahanand Dhar was raised to the rank of the principal noble and prime minister. Under his influence, the raja committed his second blunder. He changed his secular policy, and acting like a bigoted Hindu, banned the *azan* and cow-slaughter and thereby offered a direct affront to Muslim sentiments. The Muslim soldiery, in particular, objected and rebelled. But the raja's Sikh and Sansi troops were able to put them down.

By this time Ahmad Shah Abdali had returned after his triumphant victory over the Maratha confederacy at the field of Panipat, in 1761. He took a very serious view of the happenings in Kashmir. Accordingly, in June 1762, he commissioned his general, Nur-ud-din Khan Bamzai, against the raja. The Pathan and Kashmir armies met at Chera Udar, a large plateau below the Tosamaidan pass. The Kashmir troops fought admirably to preserve their independence. Unfortunately, however, when their commander-in-chief, Bakht Mal, deserted and joined the ranks of the enemy, there ensued confusion. Raja Sukhjewanmal met with an ignominious defeat. He was captured, blinded, and taken to Lahore before Ahmad Shah Abdali in a wretched condition. The latter ordered him to be trampled to death by an elephant.

Raja Sukhjewanmal[13] was a handsome Punjabi Khatri, born and brought up in Bhera (West Punjab). He was a man of parts—linguist, scholar, soldier, statesman and poet, all in one. During the Afghan occupation of the Punjab he had entered the service of Shah Wali Khan, chief minister of Ahmad Shah Abdali, who had sent him to Kashmir to serve under and assist Abdullah Khan Ishaq Aqasi. As ruler he took interest in the peace and prosperity of his subjects. He was broadminded and possessed secular outlook and culture. He attended Friday prayers with his Muslim subjects in the Jama Masjid, and took great interest in observing their two big festivals, the *Id* and the *Nauroz*. He held weekly conferences and symposiums with theologians, scholars and poets. He initiated the great project of compiling the history of Kashmir, to be called *Shahnama-i-Kashmir*, for which purpose he appointed a board of seven eminent scholars. His rule lasted for eight years, four months and some days.

But he died a very torturous death indeed. Perhaps he deserved the fate. He made several blunders which led to his destruction. Firstly, he came under the influence of Mir Muqim Kanth when his loyalty, to all intents and purposes, had become doubtful after his sudden release from Kabul. Thus he deprived himself of the steadfast loyalty and sincere guidance of Abul Hasan Khan Bandey. Secondly, led by the narrowminded Pandit Mahanand Dhar, he banned the *azan* and cow-slaughter, whereby he converted his devoted band of Muslim subjects into enemies. Thirdly, in pure self-deception and careless of political expediency, he gave uncalled for provocation to the mighty Ahmad Shah Abdali by proclaiming the Mughal Alamgir II, a wholly effete and useless ruler, emperor. A great catastrophe assuredly overtook him finally as it had to and he met the fate which he deserved.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 453; Saiyid Ghulam Husain Khan, *Seir-ul-Mutakherin* (English translation), Vol. IV, pp. 4-5; Ghulam Ali Bilgrami, *Khazinat Amira* (Nawal Kishore Press, Cawnpore), p. 110; Sufi, *Kashir*, Vol. I, p. 311

Buland Khan Bamzai (1763-65)

Raja Sukhjewanmal was succeeded by his victor, Nur-ud-din Khan Bamzai. It took him three months to restore order and to consolidate his victory. Then he left for Kabul. He was succeeded by Buland Khan Bamzai.

Buland Khan Bamzai was a man of attractive address, but he took greater interest to serve himself rather than his subjects. He gave himself up to profligacy, when restless elements in the country caused disturbances. They resurrected Shia-Sunni conflict on a flimsy pretext. Once more Zadibal was set on fire, the Shias were looted, and many of them were deformed.

Nur-ud-din Khan Bamzai (*second term*: 1765-66)

Buland Khan was displaced by Nur-ud-din Khan Bamzai. Then he appointed Mir Muqim Kanth and Pandit Kailash Dhar chief secretary and prime minister respectively. Unfortunately, the two Kashmiri nobles failed to work like a good team. They adopted an uncompromising attitude towards each other, because the Pandit had in the past been one of Kanth's assistants. Now as his senior he began to assume airs and behaved overbearingly towards him. Each remained on the look-out for the destruction of the other. Finally, Kanth succeeded in prevailing upon the governor to demand from Kailash Dhar, who held the charge of the revenue, daily payment of revenue instead of biennially as heretofore, which was practically impossible. The Pandit was thrown between the devil and the deep sea. To save himself from impending doom, he adopted a dangerous course. He employed Hakim Mir Qanungo, who bore personal enmity to Kanth, and through him got him killed. Now the Pandit was free. The clever governor, however, treated his vicious deed with indulgance, but he amassed much money through him. Then he left the country in the charge of Jan Muhammad Khan, with Gurmukh Das, a Hindu, as deputy.

Lal Khan Khatak (1766)

Meanwhile Lal Khan Khatak, a Khakha chief, who had been a trusted counsellor of Nur-ud-din Khan Bamzai, had in a short time became a power behind the throne. He had amassed much wealth and power and erected a strong fort in district Biru. As soon as he came to know that Nur-ud-din Khan Bamzai had fallen from Abdali's favour, he deposed Jan Muhammad Khan and himself assumed the government. Then he began to rule as a tyrant, looting and pillaging the people, particularly the Hindus. As soon as Ahmad Shah Abdali heard of his rebellion he sent Khurram Khan against him. Out of sheer fright Lal Khan escaped from the valley after ruling autocratically for six months.

Khurram Khan (1766-67)

By nature Khurram Khan possessed a secular outlook on life. He was especially solicitous to the Pandit community, and appointed Pandit Kailash Dhar revenue collector as before. But himself he remained ease-loving and indolent, and did not rule with strict impartiality and firmness. His enemies took full advantage of his weakness. For example, Faqir Ullah Kanth, son of the late Mir Muqim Kanth, and Lal Khan Khatak, took into confidence the Bomba chief, Mahmud Khan, and with his help raised a rebellion in Sopur. Khurram Khan and Pandit Kailash Dhar proceeded against them at the head of a large army. They were defeated by Faqir Ullah Kanth and compelled to escape to Kabul.

Faqir Ullah Kanth (1767-68)

As ruler of Kashmir Faqir Ullah Kanth could not rest till he had liquidated his rival, Lal Khan Khatak. Therefore, he set his men against him and compelled him to escape to Punch. On the other hand, he remained, in his own interests, loyal to the Khakhas and Bombas. He employed them in his schemes of vengeance, particularly against the Pandit community, simply because a Pandit had

caused the death of his father. They were miserably treated and heavily taxed. Many were killed, and some two thousand were compelled to embrace Islam.[14] Then he gave himself up to a life of reckless abandon. He remained addicted to the pleasures of the *harem* and to wine.

Meanwhile, Ahmad Shah Abdali, who had received reports about the misdeeds and cruelties of this upstart, once more despatched Nur-ud-din Khan Bamzai at the head of a large army against him. The two armies fought several engagements. Ultimately, Faqir Ullah Kanth was compelled to escape. He took shelter with the Khakha chief in Karna, and soon passed away. His rule lasted for seven months.

Nur-ud-din Khan Bamzai (*third term*: 1768-69)

While Nur-ud-din Khan Bamzai was busy with law and order problem in the country, one Muhammad Khazanchi arrived from Kabul with the orders of Ahmad Shah Abdali to succeed him. But Nur-ud-din Khan Bamzai would not take things lying down after having restored Abdali's sovereignty in the country at great personal risk. He left the decision to war and defeated his opponent, Muhammad Khazanchi. Ahmad Shah Abdali was infuriated with his rebellious conduct. And he looked about for a suitable person to depose him. Pandit Kailash Dhar, who happened to be in Kabul at the moment, offered himself to conquer Kashmir. He was sent with Khurram Khan, lately governor of Kashmir, at the head of a large army. Nur-ud-din Khan Bamzai was alarmed, and he escaped to Jammu, leaving the country in charge of Lal Khan Khatak, who was defeated at Kuarmast, and Khurram Khan entered Srinagar without meeting any further resistance.

Khurram Khan (*second term*: 1770)

While Lal Khan remained at large Khurram Khan could not rule peacefully. Then by nature and temperament too he was ill-fitted to crush him. Therefore he offered his re-

14. Hasan, *op. cit.*, p. 458

signation after six months and Amir Khan Jawansher succeeded him.

Amir Khan Jawansher (1770-76)

Immediately after assuming charge of government, Amir Khan Jawansher fought to the finish against Lal Khan Khatak. He defeated him, compelled him to escape to Garhi where he died a natural death.

Now Amir Khan Jawansher appointed Mir Fazil Kanth his chief minister. The return to power of Mir Fazil Kanth was a signal for repetition of administrative chaos and release of communal elements in the country. He had neither forgotten nor forgiven those who had been responsible for the death of his father, Mir Muqim Kanth, particularly Pandit Kailash Dhar. It was still rankling in his heart. So on a certain day he caught hold of Kailash Dhar in open court and killed him on the spot. Then he extended his vengeance to the entire Pandit community. They were molested, tortured and taxed beyond endurance. And the governor, Amir Khan Jawansher, did not lift his finger. On the other hand, he abandoned himself to a life of luxury, drinking and debauchery.

But he left behind him a name as a builder of repute. Among his buildings mention may be made of Sona-Lank[15] in the Dal Lake which he reconstructed raising a seven storeyed mansion upon it. Secondly, he laid out the Amirabad garden with a beautiful pavilion out of the polished black stones carried away from the pavilions in the Mughal gardens. Thirdly, he rebuilt the Amira Kadal bridge, the first bridge in Srinagar before 1948, which had been washed away by flood in 1772. Fourthly, he constructed the Sherghari fort in the extensive enclosure then known as the Dara Bagh, situated outside the old secretariat building, in the vicinity of the Budshah bridge, in Srinagar.

Meanwhile Ahmad Shah Abdali died in 1772. He was succeeded by his son, Timur Shah. The latter confirmed Amir Khan Jawansher in the office of the governor, also

15. *Ibid.*, p. 461

bestowing upon him the title of *Diler Jang*. Ere long Jawansher's loyalty broke like a dry reed. As soon as Timur Shah had met with reverses at the hands of the Sikhs, Jawansher too declared himself independent. At the same time, he became a terror to the Sunnis, and got some of their leading personalities killed. But Timur Shah was not a man to allow uncontrolled freedom to a Pathan like Amir Khan Jawansher, and he despatched Haji Karimdad Khan against him. He was defeated and deposed in 1776, after six years' arbitrary and atrocious rule.

Haji Karimdad Khan (1776-83)

After extirpating the Kanth family for the sins of their head, Mir Fazil Kanth, Haji Karimdad Khan appointed Abdur Rahim chief qazi and Pandit Dila Ram Quli chief secretary. Then he outlined a project of campaigns against the frontier chiefs in order to thwart their aggressive designs upon Kashmir. First, he despatched his son, Murtazza Khan, against the chief of Skardu, Raja Murad Khan. He was defeated and had to pay a large indemnity. Secondly, he defeated Raja Ranjit Dev of Jammu who had launched an attack on Kashmir at the head of thirty thousand foot, and his Khakka and Bomba fellow-conspirators were also severely dealt with.

Now Haji Karimdad Khan ruled like a reckless, merciless tyrant. His heavy hand fell on all, high and low, Hindus and Muslims, when he introduced several burdensome taxes. For instance, he imposed (1) *zari niaz* or presentation tax, on mansabdars and jagirdars; (2) *zari ashkhas* or property tax, on middle-class gentry; (3) *zari hubub* or grain tax, on cultivators; (4) *zari dudah* or religious tax, on the Pandits, and (5) *dagh shal*[16] or mercantile tax, on shawl weavers (*shal bafs*), at the rate of one anna a rupee on the sale price of every manufactured shawl.

16. It became a notorious imposition during Sikh times and under early Dogra rulers. The shawls had an increasing demand in India and Europe, and earned gold and silver to the state. But the tax impoverished the *shal-bafs* (shawl weavers) because its incidence fell on them finally

His fantastic plans did not stop there. He cut down all mulberry trees growing thick in the Maisuma area in Srinagar; instead poplar trees were planted, converting thereby the entire area into a race-course.

He had his martial side too. In 1781 he led a campaign against the chief of Muzaffarabad, defeated him and made him a captive. In 1782 he conquered Kishtwar.

He died in 1783, after a reign of seven years. History remembers him as a great tyrant. He was succeeded by his son, Azad Khan.

Azad Khan (1783-85)

Azad was hardly eighteen years of age when he assumed the government. Unlike his father he was a knight errant, and strong of purpose. He possessed clean habits and simple tastes. He enjoyed to see his secretariat staff gaudily dressed while he himself attired like a simple man. To quote George Forster,[17] a contemporary, he possessed 'few vices of youth. He is not addicted to pleasures of the *harem* nor to wine. He does not even smoke the hookah.' At the same time, he was a paradox. He was awful, 'ferocious and bad tempered', and in his cruelties surpassed his father.[18] Every day he would order one or two persons to be killed for no fault. He appointed Pandit Dila Ram Quli prime minister.

Azad Khan was a huntsman and a soldier of no mean repute. He led a campaign against Kishtwar whose raja was reduced to submission after several battles. Secondly, he made an attack on Rustum Khan, chief of Punch, who disappeared before engaging himself in a conflict, but later on accepted Azad Khan's overlordship and offered a large tribute. Thirdly, he reduced the chief of Rajauri. Fourthly, he proceeded against the Khakha and Bomba chief of Muzaffarabad and reduced him.

17. Forster, *Journey*, pp. 30-31
18. Hasan, *op. cit.*, p. 471

While on the one hand Azad Khan oppressed his subjects, on the other he encouraged means of transport and communication. He encouraged export of indigenous articles to India which brought in a considerable income in gold, silver, and commodities not available locally. To quote Baron Hugel, 'Though he grievously oppressed the people, the extravagant mode of life of this Mohammedan (Azad Khan) caused the money collected from the revenue and taxes to circulate again into the hands of the natives indirectly, who derived, also, immense profits by the increased exportation of their manufactures.'[19]

At the same time, Azad Khan was a very funny and idiotic planner. For example, once he decided to convert the Maisuma area into a lake. He built a weir at Athwajan, but the water could not reach Maisuma, and the plan proved a failure. Secondly, he declared himself independent of Timur Shah. At the same time, he proclaimed the sultan of Turkey his sovereign and simultaneously declared himself the 'second Nadir Shah'.[20] For his unsteady, frivolous conduct and meaningless arrogance he had to pay three lakhs of rupees to Timur Shah as compensation.[21] That did not, however, secure his position, because soon after Timur Shah despatched Murtazza Khan and Zaman Khan, two of Azad's brothers, to depose him. The brothers fought desperately for some time in the lower Jehlam region. Both sides lost many jawans; ultimately, Azad Khan was victorious.

But his victory turned his head more than even before. Instead of recognising the loyal services of his army officers he hard-pressed them. He killed Dewan Singh, his chief minister, and Shaikh Abdun Nabi and Inayat Ullah Bandey, top nobles of his court. What is worse Kashmir, at this time, was visited by cholera which took a heavy toll of some 20,000 people. Then salt almost disappeared from the market due to dislocation of traffic with West Punjab as well as Ladakh.

19. Hugel, *Travels,* (Major Jervis edition), p. 11
20. Hasan, *op. cit.,* pp. 472-73
21. *Ibid.,* p. 473

In short, during the regime of Azad Khan the population was oppressed in innumerable ways. For small faults he inflicted capital punishment,[22] which caused bitter popular hatred and animosity against him. By themselves the people could not overthrow him. But they made repeated appeals to Timur Shah. The latter commissioned Saif-ud-Daulah Madad Khan Durrani to overthrow him. Madad Khan came with fifty thousand horse and foot by way of Muzaffarabad in 1785. They were confronted by equally strong army of Azad Khan. Madad Khan appears to have been a seasoned campaigner. While his army was yet on the periphery of the valley, he divided it into two divisions. One he despatched under Painda Khan Barakzai to confront Azad Khan at Baramulla. With the second he effected his entry into Srinagar through Karna and occupied the field of Haft Chinar, now known as Hazuri Bagh. The population, incensed by the autocratic and tyrannical rule of Azad Khan, welcomed Madad Khan. Azad Khan was caught like a wedge, but he managed to escape to Punch where he committed suicide. His rule lasted for two years and five months. Madad Khan entrusted reins of the government to Mirdad Khan.

Mirdad Khan (1786-88)

To run the administration according to his policy Mirdad Khan selected Mulla Ghaffar Khan as deputy governor (*naib subah*), Mulla Habib as *qazi*, Mulla Qawamuddin as chief justice and Pandit Dila Ram Quli as *dewan*. Being by nature very selfish and avaricious he could not pull on smoothly with his deputy particularly. There ensued regular feuds between the two which affected the tranquillity of the state and interfered with the collection of the revenue. When the conditions took a serious turn Timur Shah deputed Murtazza Quli Khan as his personal representative from Kabul in 1787 with his mandate to declare as governor that officer governor who guaranteed the stipulated revenue

22. *Ibid.*, p. 475

for the king. Only the unscrupulous Mirdad Khan could furnish the guarantee, and he was appointed governor. Now he began to govern with a vengeance. Apart from being an autocrat he became inordinately grasping also. Quite unscrupulously and blindly he raised the price of *shali* to five rupees a *kharwar*, which a common man could hardly afford, and also introduced some burdensome taxes. No doubt, he got plenty of money, but at the cost of intolerable privations to the people. In all likelihood, he appears to have had the support of Pandit Dila Ram Quli in his wayward methods of administration, because he had appointed the Pandit his adviser-in-chief.

Unfortunately, Dila Ram Quli lost the golden opportunity of his life to establish an era of peace and plenty after weaning away his master from his highhandedness. Contrarily, he strengthened Mirdad Khan's hands and, at the same time, extended Sunni-Shia sectarian disputes for which he made ample use of one Hafiz Kamal, a notorious anti-Sunni. The result was that the Sunni leaders who were officially bored decided to wreak their vengeance on the Pandit. On a certain day their top *muftis* and *maulavis* closed the gates of the Jama Masjid and the Khanqah Maula and debarred people to offer prayers as a mass protest against the Pandit's anti-Sunni attitude. Then they assaulted him and thrashed him soundly. Before, however, the situation got out of control, Mirdad Khan was able to restore peace. He arrested and imprisoned Mir Jafar Kanth, who had instigated the people to revolt. Soon after Mirdad Khan died on 22 April 1788.[23]

Juma Khan Alkozai (1788)

Mirdad Khan was succeeded by the deputy-governor, Mulla Ghaffar Khan. His first official act was to release Mir Jafar Kanth from prison. He remained governor for four months only.

He was succeeded by Juma Khan Alk[illegible]i, who rendered

23. *Ibid.*, p. 479

himself popular as a just and benevolent ruler. Very soon he called his three sons, Abdullah Khan, Rahmatullah Khan and Muhabbat Khan, from Kabul to assist him in running the administration. He appointed Abdullah Khan *qazi,* in order to control the income from both civil and criminal departments of justice, which brought him considerable income.

Shortly after, Juma Khan was summoned to the court by Timur Shah in order to render Kashmir tribute. Accompanied by Pandit Dila Ram Quli, he left for Peshawar after appointing his son, Muhabbat Khan, in charge of government. During his absence the Shias started building new mosques in Zadibal and Hasanabad, two Shia localities in Srinagar, and observed the Muharram rites there. The Sunnis did not consider construction of more mosques as a friendly gesture on the part of the Shias. They aroused the sectarian passions of Muhabbat Khan. Accompanied by a contingent of Sunni troops he reached the scene where new mosques had been erected and got them demolished in his presence. Therby the Sunnis became bolder, looted many Shias and killed some of their leaders.[24]

In the meantime Juma Khan returned and reestablished peace between the two sects. Then he received reports that the frontier chiefs were making preparations to invade the valley. Acting on the motto 'forewarned is to be forearmed', he himself led campaigns against the rebel chiefs. First, he attacked Hasan Khan, the chief of the Bombas, and inflicted a crushing defeat upon him. Then he fell upon Rustum Khan, the ruler of Punch, who met the same fate. His third target was the Khakha chief Bera Khan, who was defeated and arrested. He led his fourth and final campaign against Karam Ullah Khan, the chief of Rajauri. He was defeated and forced to pay heavy indemnity. Having established peace internally as well as externally, Juma Khan left for Kabul in 1792, being summoned by king Timur Shah. He returned in the following year but died soon after. He was succeeded by his son, Rahmatullah

24. *Ibid.*, p. 480

Khan, who was set aside by Mir Hazar Khan, the governor appointed by Timur Shah.

Mir Hazar Khan (1793)

Hazar Khan had hardly got the control of government machinery when Timur Shah breathed his last on 18 May 1793 at Kabul, and was succeeded by Zaman Shah. One of the first orders of Zaman Shah was to demand the revenue of Kashmir from Mir Hazar Khan to establish his allegiance. But the latter disowned it, refused to pay the revenue and rebelled. He imperilled his position further when he turned into an oppressive ruler. Like a fiend he caused innumerable hardships to the population, particularly the Shias and Pandits. But the Pandits were specially picked out for victimisation.[25] Many of their leaders were put in sack-bags and then drowned in the Dull Lake. Pandit Dila Ram Quli, the most powerful and influential Pandit, was publicly beheaded in the Khanayar Chawk, then the rendezvous of Sunni *pirs* and *mullahs*. The idea was to please them and to satisfy their vengeance against him. Then he imposed the *jizya* upon the Pandits, irrespective of age, and also caused them unbearable physical and economic hardships which were worse than those inflicted by Mir Faqirullah Kanth. To debar them from any public office of profit in future he planned to close down the revenue and settlement departments, and forbade them to study Persian in order to turn them into hewers of wood and drawers of water only. He appeared so incorrigible in his anti-Pandit policy that he turned down the advice of his father who had been specially deputed by Zaman Shah to reprimand him. Thereupon the infuriated Zaman Shah despatched Ahmad Khan Shahinakbashi and Rahmat Ullah Khan, at the head of a large army, to punish him. The two armies fought at Baramulla. Mir Hazar Khan was defeated. Then he shut himself up inside the Khanqah Maula mosque in Srinagar presuming that he would not be touched within

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 482-83

the *sanctum sanctorum*. Yet he was dragged out and arrested.

Kifayatullah Khan (1794-95)

After restoring law and order in the country, Rahmat Ullah Khan and Ahmad Khan Shahinakbashi, somehow, fell out. They were summoned to the court along with Mir Hazar Khan, the rebel governor, accompanied by Pandit Nand Ram Tiku.[26] The Pandit's attainment and outstanding administrative capabilities were soon amply rewarded in Kabul when Wazir Vafadar Khan made him *dewan*, and subsequently Zaman Shah appointed him minister.

In the meantime Kashmir was ruled by Kifayatullah Khan. He was a god-fearing, generous man, but he was recalled after three months and Mirza Badruddin acted as governor. During his regime the relations between the Shias and Sunnis once more became strained. It so happened that Aga Rahim, who was the chief merchant (*malik-ut-tujar*) in Srinagar, caused the death of Khwaja Isa, a Sunni noble, in order to avenge the murder of one Muhammad Taqi, a Shia. Although by itself a solitary instance, it infuriated the Sunnis to such an extent that they set fire to the house of Aga Rahim and razed it to the ground. Then they inflicted tyrannies upon the Shias. There was no peace between the two sects till Kifayatullah Khan resumed the permanent charge of government. Soon after his return from Kabul the Bombas once more perpetrated atrocities in Baramulla, killing and looting the people, at the instigation of Mirza Badruddin. Kifayatullah Khan fought for one year against them but to no purpose. He was deposed and Zaman Shah appointed Arsalan Khan as his successor.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 490. The Kashmiri prolific bards and braggadocio have, due to their usual ignorance, exaggerated the heights attained by Pandit Nand Ram Tiku. They state that he minted coins in his own name in Kabul, in the following hemistich, and the like:

'Sika Zad dar mulki Kabul Nandram'

(Nandram minted coins in his name in Kabul; etc.)

The latter appointed Muhammad Khan Jawansher his deputy to govern for him.

Muhammad Khan Jawansher (1795-96)

Even after his deposition Kifayatullah Khan continued to reside in Srinagar. Left to himself he could be a signal for fresh trouble. As a security measure, therefore, Muhammad Khan Jawansher put him under arrest, and then despatched him to Kabul. But that did not end his troubles. The top military commanders, Mian Baluch and Khudadad Khan, having effected a *coup d'etat,* arrested the governor, and then began to rule independently. The news spread like wild fire, and Zaman Shah forthwith commissioned Sher Muhammad Khan Mukhtar-ud-Daulah assisted by Abdullah Khan Alkozai, the son of Juma Khan, with a large army to overthrow the rebel government and to restore order, in which they succeeded amply. And Abdullah Khan Alkozai assumed the charge of government in 1796.

Abdullah Khan Alkozai (*First term*: 1796-1800)

On his behalf he entrusted the government to his brother Rahmatullah Khan and appointed Pandit Sahaz Ram[27]

27. I am inclined to identify this Sahaz Ram with Sahaz Ram Sapru, the Pandit grandfather of Sir Muhammad Iqbal, the great poet and philosopher. There is a paper among the Persian documents in the Jammu and Kashmir State Record Office in Jammu. I came across this paper in 1939-40 when I organised and listed the Persian records for the state government. According to this document one Sahaz Ram Sapru who was in charge of the revenue of Kashmir during the regime of Azim Khan had held the revenue in arrears having expended the money in marriages, etc. in his family. When the report went to the governor, he summoned him. Sahaz Ram admitted his guilt like a brave man. He was young, charming and attractive. The governor was moved and offered him death or Islam as a penalty. The Pandit accepted Islam and at the same time requested that as Muslim he would not like to live in Kashmir. He was allowed to settle in Sialkot. According to Maulavi Hasan, Azim Khan had sent him to Kabul to escort his wealth and family in 1818-19. May be from Kabul he went to Sialkot (Hasan, *op. cit.*, p. 509, and Azim Khan *infra*)

revenue collector. Then he went to Kabul with Sher Muhammad Khan Mukhtar-ud-Daulah.

During his absence the Bomba freebooters, once more, intruded into Baramulla carrying as usual fire, sword and loot. The Kashmir army had a stiff encounter with them, and both sides suffered heavy casualties. Thereupon, Zaman Shah sent back Abdullah Khan Alkozai to Kashmir in 1798 to maintain peace and order.

But Abdullah Khan Alkozai returned with a different stamp of policy. He dismissed almost all his old hands from their office, expelling many of them from the country also. Instead he appointed men of ordinary calibre particularly Hindustanis, who became his chief beneficiaries. Then he formed a reserve battalion of 20,000 Kashmiris, and with their help reduced to submission the chiefs of Rajauri and Muzaffarabad and collected tributes from them. Then he took keen interest in ameliorating the condition of the masses. He treated them kindly and dealt out even-handed justice.

Ata Muhammad Khan Alkozai (1800-5)

In 1800, Abdullah Khan Alkozai fell out with Pandit Hara Dass Tiku, brother of Pandit Nand Ram Tiku, who was then *dewan* of Wazir Vafadar Khan. Hara Dass's duty was to collect the revenue and send tributes to Kabul direct. He treated Hara Dass with indignity, whose reports reached the court. He was reprimanded for his conduct both by Wazir Vafadar Khan and king Zaman Shah, and he was also summoned to the court. He left Kashmir entrusting the government to his brother, Ata Muhammad Khan Alkozai. In Kabul he was put under arrest in the Bala Hisar fort. Meanwhile, Vafadar Khan nominated their third brother, Vakil Khan, who was in Srinagar, as governor, and despatched Mulla Ahmad Khan with a large army, to help him. But Ata Muhammad Khan Alkozai killed Vakil Khan when Mulla Ahmad Khan was still in Muzaffarabad on his way to Srinagar. Then he raised the standard of revolt, and

advanced at the head of a large army to Muzaffarabad against Mulla Ahmad Khan. The two armies fought several engagements till Mulla Ahmad Khan was severely battered, and he fell a prisoner into the hands of Fath Muhammad Khan, the Khakha chief, who handed him to Ata Muhammad Khan Alkozai. The Kabul troops were routed and they retired.

Now Ata Muhammad Khan Alkozai returned to Srinagar triumphantly, and immediately put Pandit Hara Dass Tiku under arrest, because he considered him to be the cause of their fratricidal war.

But Kashmir seems to have been accursed while Ata Muhammad Khan Alkozai[28] ruled. He took full advantage of the political and sectarian mess in Kabul. In Kashmir he made confusion worse confounded. First, he aggravated sectarian antipathies between the Shias and Sunnis. In 1802, at his instigation, a crowd of Shia riff-raff and hooligans looted and disgraced the Sunni gentry in the city. In 1804, a terrible earthquake occurred and many houses toppled down. Then followed non-stop rainfall for several days which inundated the valley destroying the standing crops; and *shali*, the staple crop of the population became almost scarce.[29] In 1805, owing to excessive cold all lakes and rivers froze solid, so much so that people could walk freely on the Jehlam river carrying heavy loads.[30]

But the worst part of people's tribulation was the sudden transformation in the mental and physical attitudes of Ata Muhammad Khan Alkozai. He developed a diseased mind which turned him into a ferocious libertine. He began to molest girls of noble families, nay any handsome girl in order to satisfy his carnal madness. Many parents were compelled to shave the heads of their daughters rather than allow them to be molested and degraded.[31]

28. Hasan, *Ibid.*, p. 494
29. *Ibid.*
30. *Ibid.*, p. 494
31. Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 198

Abdullah Khan Alkozai (*Second Term*: 1805-6)

In 1801, Zaman Shah was dethroned and blinded by his brother, Mahmud Shah, and that threw the whole of Afghanistan into a welter of chaos and confusion. To profit by these developments, Abdullah Khan Alkozai, who was a prisoner in the Bala Hisar fort, managed to secure his release through the jail warder, Jan Nizar Khan, and escaped to Srinagar along with his benefactor. Here he treated Jan Nizar Khan with extraordinary munificence and presented to him a purse of one lakh of rupees in sheer gratefulness. Then he proclaimed himself independent ruler of Kashmir in 1805.

Simultaneously, Kabul once more passed through unprecedented cataclysms. Mahmud Shah was displaced by Zaman Shah, who was himself displaced by Shah Shuja. In 1805, Shah Shuja occupied Peshawar. From there he commissioned Sher Muhammad Khan Mukhtar-ud-Daulah at the head of a large army against Abdullah Khan Alkozai, the rebel ruler of Kashmir. Sher Muhammad appears to have been a diplomat of great sagacity and strategist of a high order. On reaching Muzaffarabad he preferred diplomacy to war. He sent in advance his trusted officer Ibrahim Khan to Srinagar, to report on the attitude of Abdullah Khan Alkozai, and try to change his rebellious attitude if possible. But Ibrahim Khan returned disappointed. Meanwhile, Abdullah Khan Alkozai continued to behave ruthlessly and impetuously; and Sher Muhammad Khan found war to be the only remedy. He gave Abdullah Khan Alkozai a crushing defeat and compelled him to retreat to Sopur where he was again defeated and many of his men were drowned in the Jehlam. Then he closed himself up in the Biru fort, while Sher Muhammad Khan entered Srinagar triumphantly on 26 February 1806.[32] Abdullah Khan Alkozai was then besieged, and he died a sad and broken-hearted man on 3 June 1806. The Alkozai brothers' rule lasted eleven years and six months.

32. Hasan, *op. cit.*, p. 495

Abdullah Khan Alkozai was a man of good mettle. He attempted to render his regime internally peaceful and externally strong. To quote Elphinstone,[33] 'he was commended for his love of justice and his skill in administering it, for his liberality, his affable manners and his princely munificence. He was a great encourager of learning and poetry.' But his wretched, beastly, sadist and autocratic brother, Ata Muhammad Khan Alkozai, bestrewed his path with thorns and deeply wounded the heart of the Kashmiris and injured their traditionally amicable sentiments.

Ata Muhammad Khan Barakzai (1806-13)

After his signal victory over Abdullah Khan Alkozai, Sher Muhammad Khan Mukhtar-ud-Daulah entrusted the government of the country to his son, Ata Muhammad Khan Barakzai, and himself returned to Kabul after some five months.

Sher Muhammad Khan Mukhtar-ud-Daulah was a scholar, a generous man and a strong ruler. And Shah Shuja committed a diplomatic blunder when he dismissed him. It helped prince Qaiser, son of Zaman Shah, to proclaim himself king in Kabul. Peshawar was simultaneously invested and occupied. Shah Shuja was compelled to proceed at the head of his army to Peshawar. A bitter war ensued, Sher Muhammad Khan Mukhtar-ud-Daulah and others were killed and Shah Shuja was victorious.

As soon as Ata Muhammad Khan Barakzai, the governor of Kashmir, received news of the death of his father, Sher Muhammad Khan, he declared his independence. Shah Shuja was infuriated and despatched Muhammad Akram Khan and Mir Afzal Khan at the head of a large army against him. They were defeated in 1809.

Returning to affairs in Kabul, in 1801 Fath Muhammad Khan Barakzai collected an army and once more pitted Mahmud Shah against Shah Shuja, who was defeated. Then Peshawar was attacked; now events began to move with

33. Elphinstone, M., *An Account of the Kingdom of Kabul*, pp. 595-96

dramatic suddenness against Shah Shuja. He found himself almost a deserted person with no hope of recovering the throne. Like a man driven to desperation, and in utter bewilderment, he sought the refuge of Maharaja Ranjit Singh at Talamba, in Multan.

Meanwhile, when the governor of Kashmir, Ata Muhammad Khan Barakzai, heard of these developments, he considered this to be an opportunity to avenge the dismissal and death of his father and, at the same time, to thwart the diplomatic victory of the Maharaja. Therefore, he decided to camouflage Shah Shuja. He despatched a trusted mission consisting of Dewan Nand Ram Tiku who was known for his diplomatic astuteness and loyalty to Shah Shuja, with his own brother Jahandad Khan, to Shah Shuja with the request to come to Kasmir where he would be treated as king till circumstances in Afghanistan were favourable for him, and to give up the idea of seeking refuge with Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Obviously, a known Afghan's protection could be many times safer than that of an unknown but very strong and, at the same time, ambitious non-Muslim like Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Shah Shuja accepted the invitation and, accompanied by Hasan Khan and Mulla Hidayat Ullah, entered Kashmir on 27 September 1813.[34] Here he found himself trapped. But he was treated as a royal prisoner and kept in the Hari Parbat fort.[35]

Ata Muhammad Khan Barakzai had assumed the reins of government on 28 September 1806, when he appointed Pandit Sahaz Ram Sapru his *dewan*. Like his father, Ata Muhammad Khan was also a just and generous ruler. He lived a simple, unostentatious life. He got important civil and criminal cases decided in his presence. He recognised merit and stimulated interest in learning. He concentrated his energies on the development of economic and agricultural resources of the country, and on giving the population a reign of peace and tranquillity internally as well

34. Hasan, *op. cit.*, p. 500
35. *Ibid.*

as externally. In fact, in a short time, he was able to double the national income.

Ata Muhammad Khan Barakzai was naturally more concerned about the safety and security of the frontiers for he anticipated danger from the frontier chiefs as well as from Kabul and Lahore any moment. He appears to have been a skilled strategist, warrior and diplomat. He is one of the few rulers of Kashmir who had a clear grasp of the political map of the valley, especially her vulnerable spots. And he took steps to render her militarily invulnerable. He expended a considerable amount of money on equipping the army with guns and ammunition. In 1810, he built the massive fort[36] on the top of the Hari Parbat hillock circumvallated by a high and massive rampart supported by strong bastions. Inside the fort he laid out barracks which could accommodate several thousand troops and their equipment. He also laid out a tank in the centre of the fort to hold water for their use. Forts were also built at Sopur and Baramulla, and the bridge at Baramulla was made sufficiently strong for the military. Then he had depots built for a large quantity of ammunition at strategic centres in and on the periphery of the valley.

Having strengthened his position to his satisfaction internally, he despatched his brother in advance with a strong army to Attock to keep Fath Muhammad Khan, their enemy and political rival, at bay. In fact, his military acumen and sagacity did not mislead him. Actually, Fath Muhammad Khan appeared at Attock on 19 July 1814,[37] after he had reduced Kabul and Kandahar. To strengthen himself further Fath Muhammad Khan approached Maharaja Ranjit Singh for help in return for an annual subsidy of eight lakh rupees.[38] The Maharaja accepted the stipulation, and commissioned Dewan Muhkam Chand, one of his brave generals, with a strong army of ten thousand horse and foot

36. *Ibid.*, p. 501

37. *Ibid.*, p. 502

38. *Ibid.*; Kanhayalal, *Zafarnama Ranjit Singh* (English translation by E. Rehatsek); *Indian Antiquary*, November 1887, pp. 339-40

for his assistance. When the combined troops of Fath Muhammad Khan and Muhkam Chand marching by the Bhimbar-Gujrat Mughal road, entered Kashmir at Hirapur by the Tosamaidan pass, they found Kashmir army of Ata Muhammad Khan in readiness to receive them. The two armies fought desperately till some men from Ata Muhammad Khan's army defected and caused confusion among his troops. He was defeated and ran at breakneck speed to Srinagar. Here he released Shah Shuja and proclaimed him king. But Shah Shuja failed to inspire the troops with the result that frustration seized their commanders and they deserted and joined the enemy one by one.

In view of the impending danger, both Ata Muhammad Khan and Shah Shuja, who had in the meantime closed themselves up in the Sherghari fort (Srinagar), decided to inveigle general Muhkam Chand with the aim to circumvent the designs of Fath Muhammad Khan. Shah Shuja promised that if he would be saved from falling into the hands of Fath Muhammad Khan, he would present the *Kohinoor*, the world famous diamond, to Maharaja Ranjit Singh. On the same condition, Ata Muhammad Khan also promised to deliver the Attock fort to the Maharaja. The baits were very tempting indeed. General Muhkam Chand, who seems to have already been briefed by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, who was a born diplomat and a strategist of the highest calibre, to get hold of Shah Shuja, if possible, accepted these conditions. He raised the siege of the Sherghari fort and Shah Shuja and Ata Muhammad Khan walked into his camp.[39] No doubt Fath Muhammad Khan was sorely frustrated but considering discretion the better part of valour, he submitted and then himself also made peace with Ata Muhammad Khan, and accepted his presents. Both Ata Muhammad Khan and Shah Shuja left Kashmir escorted by Muhkam Chand. The general also received the first instalment of eight lakh rupees from Fath Muhammad Khan. Ata Muhammad Khan had ruled for some six years.

39. Hasan, *ibid.*, p. 503

Fath Muhammad Khan and Sardar Muhammad Azim Khan (1813-19)

Fath Muhammad Khan assumed the reins of the government of Kashmir in 1813 and occupied himself with the restoration of law and order. He remained here for three months and then left for Kabul accompanied by Dewan Nand Ram Tiku. He left the country in the charge of his brother Sardar Muhammad Azim Khan. Soon, however, he made an attempt to recover the Attock fort from Maharaja Ranjit Sigh, but was frustrated and compelled to return to Kabul.

In 1813, the deputy-governor, Sardar Muhammad Azim Khan, appointed Pandit Sahaz Ram Sapru his *dewan* and Pandit Hara Dass, brother of Dewan Nand Ram Tiku, chief secretary. But he rendered his rule very oppressive.[40]

Meanwhile, Maharaja Ranjit Singh did not receive his second instalment of tribute of eight lakh rupees from the governor of Kashmir. Secondly, occupation of Attock by the Maharaja had been contested by Fath Muhammad Khan. It had been rankling in his heart and exasperated him so much that in 1914, he commissioned general Dal Singh at the head of a large army to conquer Kashmir. He despatched his troops by way of Punch and himself watched the developments from there. The Sikh army attempted to enter the valley by the Bahramgala pass, in the Pir Panjal mountain. Here the Sikhs had a fairly good luck, and they proceeded to Hirapur, where they found that the Pathan and Kashmir troops had collected in large numbers. But the Sikhs had not taken due precautions against sudden change of weather which is a common phenomenon on these mountain ranges, particularly during the spring season. They were dressed in light costumes. Unexpectedly, there occurred a sudden cloud-burst which benumbed them and rendering their ammunition useless. Their provisions also ran out, and they fell an easy prey to three thousand Kashmiri troops commanded by Baba Khan. Some three

40. *Ibid.*, p. 504

thousand Sikh soldiers were killed on the spot and the rest transferred their venue of operations to a safer place, and expecting improvement in the weather they made brisk preparations for another battle which lasted eight days. They fought desperately; but again they were defeated and then quitted finally. Azim Khan entered the capital in great triumph.

Azim Khan and Pandits

Now Azim Khan began to reconsider his future very seriously. He could not rule out the possibility of another and mightier attack by the Sikh army of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. At the same time, he was perhaps correct in suspecting the loyalty of leading Kashmiri Pandits, particularly. Because, firstly, Dewan Nand Ram Tiku who was still in Kabul had been scheming for his overthrow, and had already started confabulations with Pathan chiefs in Kabul on the subject. Secondly, Maharaja Ranjit Singh was anxious to extend the boundaries of his dominion in the north-east and north-west, including Kashmir, since expansion beyond the Sutlej, which was under the British sphere of influence, was fraught with dangerous consequences. To the Hindus in Kashmir, by and large, this opportunity was a god-send for their redemption. They would necessarily do all that was possible to make matters easy for the Sikh occupation of their country. Under the circumstances, Azim Khan decided to give short-shrift to the Pandits who counted in the valley at least. His first target was Pandit Hara Dass Tiku,[41] brother of Dewan Nand Ram Tiku, who was lynched. Nevertheless, he found it impossible to conduct his government without the Pandit officials.[42]

It appeared that the fates were conspiring against Azim Khan as much as against the population of Kashmir. First, the weather remained unusually changing for six years continuously. The *shali* could not ripen and food-stuffs be-

41. *Ibid.*, p. 505
42. *Ibid.*

came more and more scarce. A *kharwar*[43] cost fifteen rupees. The worst year of famine was 1813.[44]

During the last phase of his reign Azim Khan had appointed three Pandit chiefs, Birbal Dhar, Mirza Pandit Dhar and Sukh Ram Safaya as collectors of the revenue. Due to the unexpectedly bad weather for six years continuously a sum of one lakh of rupees remained in arrears against Pandit Birbal Dhar. Notwithstanding, the governor employed stern methods against him. He abused him, punished him, and sent his sepoys to ransack his home. The gallant Pandit earnestly remonstrated that he could not be held responsible for natural calamities which destroyed the crops. Then he was suspected of plotting with the Sikhs. But the fact remains that Azim Khan's highhandedness and impetuosity compelled him to escape, and he presented himself before Maharaja Ranjit Singh as a suppliant on behalf of the people of Kashmir in general and of the Hindus in particular, against Azim Khan's oppressive rule.

Birbal Dhar's Adventures

It is interesting to narrate the adventures of this brave Pandit. When he was convinced that Azim Khan meant to destroy him, lock, stock and barrel, he escaped from his home at dead of night, leaving his wife and daughter-in-law to the care of Qudus Gojri,[45] a Musalman milkman, who concealed them in his cow-shed. He remained incognito till he reached Devasar, in Kulgam, where his son, Pandit Rajakak Dhar, was tahsildar. Here he was suitably provided by the Muslim maliks, for his long and tedious journey to Jammu. These maliks were the wardens of the passes leading out of the valley from the Banihal mountain passes. Accompanied by his son, Rajakak Dhar, and the escorts supplied by the maliks, Pandit Birbal Dhar undertook his arduous mission in good faith, to persuade Maharaja Ranjit Singh to rid the Kashmiris of turbulent

43. *Ibid.*
44. *Ibid.*
45. *Ibid.*, p. 507

Pathans. Apart from being a mighty adventurer Birbal Dhar appears to have been an astute diplomat also. In all likelihood, he seems to have had contacts with Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu whom he took into confidence. The raja took interest in his scheme and enthused him with hopes of success since his brother, Raja Dhyan Singh, was then prime minister of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. He gave him an introductory letter for Dhyan Singh and also made suitable arrangements for his journey to Lahore. So Pandit Birbal Dhar was able to pay his obeisance to the mighty Maharaja,[46] the 'Lion of the Punjab'.

While undertaking his stupendous political mission Birbal Dhar could not rule out the fate that awaited his relations and friends, particularly his wife and daughter-in-law, at the hands of Azim Khan. Big projects cost big sacrifices.

Azim Khan's Ruthless Conduct

What happened in Srinagar during his absence, although very tragic has, nonetheless, great historical significance. When Azim Khan failed to get any trace of Birbal Dhar his vendetta naturally became boundless. He arrested Mirza Pandit who had stood surety for Birbal Dhar. He asked him about Birbal Dhar's whereabouts. Like another brave Pandit, with characteristic calm and equanimity, he replied, 'He is not in Kashmir. He appears to have escaped. If he is despaired of life then he should go to Hardwar. Otherwise he would present himself before Maharaja Ranjit Singh and bring with him the Sikh army against you. Now as his surety, here I am, you behead me.'[47] Better sense, however, prevailed upon Azim Khan and he spared him. But he wreaked his vengeance upon the family of Birbal Dhar as well as Qudus Gojri, the milkman, and others.

This was the direct consequence of the treachery of Munshi Trilok Chand, son-in-law of Pandit Birbal Dhar.

46. *Ibid.*
47. *Ibid.*

Trilok Chand's character offers a contrast. The petty man beguiled and disillusioned by some momentary gain, divulged the whereabouts of Birbal Dhar's family, careless of its terrible consequences. They were traced to the house of the milkman. While under arrest Birbal Dhar's wife, an old and emaciated lady, died a heroic death by committing suicide. But her young daughter-in-law did not. She survived and was sent to Kabul. Pandit Vasakak Dhar who was director of communications and transport and had, in fact, arranged their concealment, was brutally murdered. Qudus Gojri and his family were also brutally murdered and their belongings destroyed. The homes and hearths of the maliks, who had provided escort, for Birbal Dhar, were also destroyed.[48]

Nevertheless, Azim Khan was seized with alarm when he came to know that Birbal Dhar had succeeded in his mission. To avoid the approaching doom at the hands of the Sikhs, he hurriedly quitted Kashmir in 1819, leaving his family and the huge treasure of one crore in cash and kind in the custody of Pandit Sahaz Ram Sapru,[49] to follow him, and the country in the charge of his brother, Jabar Khan.

TURN OF THE TIDE (1819)

Let us return to Pandit Birbal Dhar. He had, in the meantime, succeeded in inducing Maharaja Ranjit Singh to conquer Kashmir. It was a singular accomplishment. The Maharaja seized the opportunity of the absence of Azim Khan from Kashmir as well as of the fall of Fath Muhammad Khan Barakzai who had been blinded and disgraced by Prince Kamran, governor of Herat. The Maharaja selected his veteran generals and diplomats, namely Dewan Misr Chand, Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa, Sardar Jawala Singh and Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu, to accompany the heir-apparent, Prince Kharrakh Singh, at the head of a fully equipped army of 30,000 strong, to conquer and annex Kashmir.

48. *Ibid.*, pp. 507-508
49. *Ibid.*, p. 509

Pandit Birbal Dhar was in the vanguard of the army as harbinger of peace for the Kashmiris. Maharaja Ranjit Singh, however, detained Birbal Dhar's son, Pandit Rajakak Dhar, at Lahore, as a guarantee that his father's intentions were sincere.

The Sikh army traversed by the imperial Mughal route from Bhimbar to Rajauri and onwards to Thanna and Poshiana,[50] and entered the Kashmir valley by the Darel Pass. They had their first encounter with the army of Jabar Khan at Hirapur. The Pathan army was defeated and forced back upon Shupian on the first day. The second day proved to be decisive. They were easily repulsed and routed. The Sikh army gained a smashing victory, and Jabar Khan escaped like a coward to Srinagar, and collecting whatever he could lay his hands on, quitted Kashmir for good leaving the Kashmiris to their own fate. With Jabar Khan ended the Pathan rule in Kashmir on 15 June 1819.[51] Maharaja Ranjit Singh's generals entered the Sherghari fort in Srinagar. When the Maharaja received the happy news of the victory, he allowed Pandit Rajakak Dhar to return to Kashmir after decorating him with a *khillat*.

The termination of the Pathan rule in Kashmir turned the tide of history after about five hundred years. A new and revolutionary order of society and administrative system came into being which lasted for one hundred and twenty-eight years.

Birbal Dhar's Role

What is the historical significance of the role of Pandit Birbal Dhar? He was a Kashmiri Pandit of considerably high social and official status. He was the immediate cause of the transformation of the government of Kashmir from

50. *Ibid.*; Kanhayalal, *op. cit.*; *Indian Antiquary*, *op. cit.*, January 1888, pp. 19-21

51. This date is equivalent to 8 Har 1876 (Samvat era) which is obtained from the chronogram *'Bolojivah Guruji Ka Khalsa Boloji Vah Guruji Ki Fath'*—(Sasan, *op. cit.*, p. 510)

Muslim rulers to the Sikhs, and he had very strong reasons for it, both personal and national.

Personally, he had suffered tremendously at the hands of Azim Khan. He was forced into voluntary exile leaving behind his aged wife and young daughter-in-law in wilderness, when he knew little that his mission would be crowned with success. This by itself is a sacrifice of the highest magnitude. One simply shudders at the treatment that was meted out to him before he quitted his country, and after his departure, at the tortures inflicted upon his wife, daugher-in-law, Mirza Pandit, Pandit Vasakak Dhar, Qudus Gojri, the Muslim milkman, who had given shelter to and looked after his wife and daughter-in-law like a mother and sister, and the Muslim maliks of Kulgam b[illegible] for whose escort it would have been wellnigh impossible for him to reach Jammu, and Lord knows how many m[illegible] who were involved in this great tragi-comic drama. All of these are instances which history must record in letters of gold.

Even if we look at these developments with purely narrow, parochial, sectarian eyes, it needs no argument to accept that Kashmiri Pandits as a community had, by and large, upheld and sustained Hinduism in the country, during nearly five centuries of Muslim rule, suffering miserably the social, political and economic repercussions consequent on the occupation of the state by an alien government. They were gradually reduced from many lakhs to several thousands and they became a taboo. But those who remained behind were examples of great fortitude, self-sacrifice and heroism worthy of emulation. To them establishment of Sikh rule was indeed a god-send. Greater still is the ever-growing character of that magnanimous and broad-minded team of indigenous Musalmans who are noblest examples of humanism and torch-bearers of communal amity and friendliness. At great personal risks and sacrifice they gave the Pandits shelter from the cruel hands of some bigoted rulers and communal elements—and there were lots of them—who were determined to extirpate them as Hindus. Perhaps history has very few examples of rulers

like Zain-ul-Abiden (1420-70) and of *Sufi* saints like Shaikh Nur-ud-din of Cherrari Sharif and his famous band of the *Rishis*, who threw in their lot and identified themselves with Hindu thought and culture.

On the national plane, Birbal Dhar's role appears unquestionably patriotic. We have to bear in mind that with the gradual degradation of the central authority first in Delhi during the age of the later Mughals and subsequently in Kabul after the death of Zaman Shah, all means of communication and transport between Kashmir and India, on the one hand, and Afghanistan and Kashmir, on the other, had been disrupted and rendered dangerous.

Kas[illegible] depended, since the dawn of history, for her essen[illegible]mmodities, namely, salt, tea, sugar, medicines, oil, [illegible], iron, steel, spices, wheat and cotton, not to spe[illegible]ry articles, entirely on India. With the hold-up [illegible]ns of communication, she was abruptly starved for [illegible] Nor could she export her own articles like sh[illegible]oollens, saffron, fruit, timber, etc. The result was a [illegible]ve economic crisis and abject poverty. In times of d[illegible] and famines, the Punjab used to be the main s[illegible] [illegible]er [illegible] wheat and rice to Kashmir. That also ceased [illegible] famines and starvation deaths followed in quick success[illegible] With Muslim Afghanistan weakened, demoralised and [illegible] integrated by internecine tribal warfare, after 1800, the Punjab of Maharaja Ranjit Singh remained the only hope if Kashmir was to exist. It became, therefore, the bounden duty of her natural leaders to get up and decide her future. And for all that Pandit Birbal Dhar did not invent a precedent when he called in the aid of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. His role in 1819 was analogous to the role of Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi, a great leader, patriot, saint, humanist and diplomat who compelled by the woes and tears of his unfortunate brethren, approached Akbar, the great Mughal, in 1585 to conquer Kashmir and to destroy the Chak rule which was as tyrannical and oppressive as that of the Pathans, if not worse. It is only a trick of history that in the latter case the parties concerned were Muslims, while in the former

they were non-Muslims. But taking into consideration gradual political, economic and cultural degradation of the country particularly between 1753 and 1819, change of government was imperative and unavoidable, and occupation of the country by Maharaja Ranjit Singh a necessary evil. It was the only practical policy, considering the needs and exigencies of the times.

History repeated itself in 1947 when similar circumstances faced the country. After the establishment of the Sikh rule Kashmir no longer remained landlocked. Transformation of her social, economic and administrative complexion after a long time went along with the establishment of a strong, central government, although completely medieval. The erstwhile local fissiparous tendencies, aggravated time and again by malevolent game for leaders and external aggressions of the Khakha, Bombe and Gujar tribesmen which had been great disturbing factors against the peace and tranquillity of the population, were destroyed and buried deep. More than all this, the peasantry, which always formed more than 95 per cent of the population, heaved a sigh of relief. They were no more fleeced. 'It must have been an intense relief to all classes in Kashmir to see the downfall of the evil rule of the Pathans, and to none was the relief greater than to the peasants, who had been cruelly fleeced by the rapacious sirdars of Kabul.'[52]

52. Lawrence, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-99

CHAPTER TWELVE

State and Society

FOR A CORRECT APPRAISAL OF THE state and society, in fact the whole gamut of the passions, the prejudices, the achievements and the failures of the people of Kashmir during five centuries of Muslim rule, reference, in the first instance, to certain natural factors is indispensable. Because these factors were largely responsible for the formation of the whole climate of opinion. And Kashmir is today what its natural position and history have made it.

The natural position of Kashmir is of primary importance. Flanked by high mountains which remain covered by snow for several months in the year Kashmir remains one of the most impressive valleys in the world. For centuries these natural barriers secured her from external aggression. At the same time, they were responsible for grave consequences. They obstructed smooth and regular flow of communication and transport. The masses remained cut off. They lived in a world of their own under the impression that there existed nothing beyond the mountains. Their outlook remained narrow and visionless, and their life dull and monotonous. Old ideas, traditions and beliefs dominated their actions and aspirations. They remained conservative, traditionalist and hostile to change. They remained devoted to kind rulers but treated with contempt those who were coercive and oppressive.

In normal times man-power was equal to bread-power. During bitter winter months only a part of man-power was absorbed in cottage industries. In times of peace within the country and the regions lying to the south, a majority of physically fit men migrated to the Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and even beyond to escape the rigours of the winter and, at the same time, to earn their living. They went out as

labourers, wood-cutters, pedlars, merchants, pilgrims, saints and scholars. Sometimes devastating famines, epidemics and oppressive rulers also compelled many to emigrate.

Secondly, when we think of Kashmir under the Muslim rule, we have to reconstruct the valley in our imagination. We have to forget most of what we find at present—the schools, the colleges, the hospitals and dispensaries, the post offices, the banks, the telegraph and telephone system, cars, lorries, aeroplanes and the tongas, house-boats and pucca roads, etc. All these blessings of modern science and technology did not exist then. What existed then and relics of whose grandeur and beauty are extant are the Mughal gardens, the Hari Parbat fort, the wall of Akbar, the canals and bridges, and the Jama Masjid, the Khanqa Maula (Shahi Hamadan mosque) and countless other mosques.

Territorial Extent

The state of Jammu and Kashmir, as we see it today, is the creation of the Dogra rulers (1846-1947). The valley of Kashmir with whose history we are concerned here comprised a small state about 120 *kos* long and between 10 to 20 *kos* broad. During the heyday of Hindu power its territorial limits extended beyond its natural boundaries. It included the hill-states of Punch, Rajauri, Bhimbar, Kishtwar, certain districts of Jammu, and Hazara. The conquests of Lalitaditya (724-60) extended as far as Central Asia in the north-west and the Punjab in the south. After the death of Jayasimha (1155), the Hindu sovereignty receded considerably owing to a series of weak rulers and increasing domination of the Turks in Afghanistan and the Punjab.

The conditions had not much altered when in 1320 the Buddhist Rinchan embraced Islam and proclaimed himself sultan assuming the title Sadr-ud-din, and laid the foundation of the independent Muslim kingdom of Kashmir. From the time of Shahmir, twenty years later, the power and prestige of the sultanate began to expand gradually. Once more the sultans of Kashmir began to recover authority and control over the neighbouring states. The ambitious

Shahab-ud-din (1335-74) extended his sway over the neighbouring states after the manner of Lalitaditya. Zain-ul-Abiden (1420-70), reestablished the sovereignty of Kashmir over Ladakh and Baltistan also.

But the glorious reign of Zain-ul-Abiden was followed by long periods of political disorganisation and social chaos. The conditions made it easy for the invaders from Kashghar under Mirza Haidar Dughlat to devastate Kashmir in 1533. Then Lodi, Sur and the first two Mughal rulers of India also attempted to occupy her. Owing to their preoccupations in India, however, they could not extend their sway to Kashmir. Nevertheless, they interfered in her internal affairs whenever some disgrunted or defeated Kashmiri leader intrigued with them to obtain possession of the country. In this way Mirza Haidar Dughlat was, for the second time, able to seize the country and rule over her for ten years (1540-50). Similarly, Akbar first conquered and then annexed her to his Indian dominion in 1586. In the same way, Ahmad Shah Abdali established the Pathan rule in 1753, which was displaced by the Sikh rule of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1819. So Kashmir lost her independence in 1586.

Administrative Units

Since ancient times the valley of Kashmir was divided, for administrative purposes, into two main divisions namely, Kamraz and Maraz, or the Baramulla wazarat and Anantnag wazarat respectively. These two divisions continued unchanged throughout the Muslim rule. Each division consisted of a number of small districts. They were called *visayas* under Hindu rulers and parganas during Muslim times. Their number changed from time to time. According to *Lokaprakasa*[1] (11th century) there were 27 *visayas* (parganas); Abul Fazl[2] mentions 28, Qazi Ali[3] (16th century) 41, and Major Bates[4] (1873) 43.

1. *Lokaprakasa, Indische Studien*, 1898, Vol. XVIII, pp. 374-75
2. *Ain* (Jarrett), II, p. 371 sq
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 367-71
4. Bates, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-4

The valley as a whole comprised a large number of villages. Al-Masudi[5] (944) states that there were some 'sixty to seventy thousand' villages. According to Sharaf-ud-din Yazdi[6] (1398), 'In the heart of the level plain lying within the mountains, are ten thousand inhabited villages abounding in springs, streams and vegetation. It is popularly believed that the whole of the province, plains and mountains together comprise one hundred thousand villages abounding in population and vegetation.'

Both Al-Masudi and Sharaf-ud-din Yazdi never visited Kashmir. In all probability, they seem to have heard from travellers and traders the popular tradition[7] according to which Kashmir comprised 66,063 villages.

Population

The large number of flourishing villages and parganas suggests that as an independent kingdom the Kashmir valley was densely populated. This view is also supported by Sharaf-ud-din Yazdi (1398) and Abul Fazl (1586). But as a dependency of the Mughals (1586-1753), then of the Pathans (1753-1819), and the Sikhs (1819-46), the population began to decrease gradually. Apart from the consequences of the wars of occupation and civil strifes, we have also to take into account famines, floods, fires and epidemics which occurred repeatedly during this period and took a heavy toll of the population.

We possess no authentic records of the population during the rule of the Mughals and Pathans. But according to one stray reference there were 1,243,033 inhabitants in the

5. Al-Masudi, *op. cit.*, I, p. 382
6. *Zafarnama*, *op. cit.*, p. 178; *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), p. 430
7. The following is the traditional verse according to which Kashmir in ancient times was a flourishing and densely populated country comprising 66,063 villages:

'Sastir grama sahasrani
Sastir grama satanica
Sastir grama trayo grama,
Hyetat Kashmira mandalam' (*Lokaprakasa*, *op. cit.*, p. 375)

valley in 1670.[8] By 1835[9] their number had considerably reduced, being only 200,000. Under improved conditions of life and government once more the population began to increase. According to the census of 1891,[10] there were 814,000 inhabitants; by 1911 their number rose to 1,099,966, and by 1941 to 1,465,000.

II

TYPES OF RULERS

Independent Sultans (1320-1586)

Under the independent sultans Kashmir had a monarchy. The sultan was the head of the state. In their private and public life the sultans attempted to establish peace and order, and expanded Islam. Rinchan Shah (Sultan Sadr-ud-din), a convert from Buddhism, established the first mosque (Raintan Masjid) in Srinagar, on the site of a Buddhist shrine. He also built a *khanqah* (monastery) and established a *langar khana* (free kitchen) at Bulbul Lankar in Ali Kadal, Srinagar, to perpetuate the memory of Bulbul Shah, at whose hands he had embraced Islam. After establishing law and order, Shahmir (1339-42) introduced the *khutba* (Friday oration) and the *sikka* (Muslim coining). Shahabuddin (1356-74) consolidated the power and prestige of the sultanate, launched aggressive campaigns outside the country with a fair measure of success, and treated Hindus and Muslims alike. Qutb-ud-din (1374-86) came under the direct influence of Saiyid Ali Hamadani, the famous Muslim Sufi missionary from Hamadan, Persia. He blazed a trail, and his devoted disciples spread Islam through the length and breadth of the valley. Their policy and treatment remained peaceful, for which all credit goes to Saiyid Ali Hamadani.

8. *Tarikh-i-Hasan* (Ms.)

9. Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 223

10. *Census of India*, 1911, Vol. XX (Kashmir—Part I), p. 15; *Census of India*, 1941, Vol. XXII (Kashmir—Part I), p. 73; Lawrence, *Ibid.*, pp. 223, 224, 225

During the reign of Sikandar and Ali Shah (1386-1420), however, force and compulsion were employed by the second convoy of missionaries who came with Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani, the son and successor of Saiyid Ali Hamadani. The Hindus were compelled to embrace Islam. Those who refused either died or quitted the country. Cremation of the dead and wearing of Hindu symbols were interdicted, and *jizya* was levied. Many Hindu temples were pulled down and their images broken, obviously to obliterate traces of active Hinduism. The idol-breakers, it is likely, were obsessed with the idea that the temples had hidden treasures. Moreover, they seem to have been motivated by a desire to demoralise the population and rule over them with superior might. Meanwhile Sikandar and Ali Shah looked on hopelessly.

But Zain-ul-Abiden (1420-70), although only 19 years old when he became sultan, was a man of a different stamp. He reversed the policy of his predecessors. He recalled the exodist Hindus, rehabilitated them and revived their traditions and customs. He abolished the *jizya*, repaired Hindu temples and himself participated in Hindu festivals and pilgrimages. Still he remained throughout a devout Musalman and proclaimed himself *Naib Amirul Muminin* (Deputy of the Commander of the Faithful). He established diplomatic relations with the Sherif of Mecca, the rulers of Persia and Central Asia, and the neighbouring Hindu and Muslim chiefs of India. He was a great man and his reign was glorious.

Zain-ul-Abiden set a very high, perhaps the highest standard of kingship. His dissolute, self-indulgent and pusillanimous successors (1470-1540) could not maintain even a semblance of it. The state and society began to disintegrate internally, and externally Kashmir lost its hold over the neighbouring feudatory hill states. Party politics and gangsterism were on the rampage. The leaders of the four parties—the Dars (Damaras), Magres, Rainas and Chaks—in their struggle for power, waged fierce wars in which they used brute force and terror. Srinagar was converted

into a regular battle-field. The sultans remained puppets of the party in power, and malversation, social degradation and economic starvation gripped the population.

Under such conditions it became easy for foreign adventurers to convulse the state and society, culturally as well as politically. Culturally, Shams-ud-din Iraqi (1505-26), a noted fanatic, was able to establish the Shia-Nurbakhshi creed by pressure; at the same time, he extirpated all remnants of active Hinduism. He brought about transformation of far-reaching consequence in the Muslim society when he injected the Shias with the virus of hate and animosity against the Sunnis. For three centuries (1519-1819) continually they fought against each other with devastating results.

Politically, the Mughal army of Sultan Said Khan of Kashghar, led by Mirza Haidar Dughlat, was able to cause much death and devastation in the country in 1533 which crippled the administration for several years. Seven years later Mirza Haidar was able to seize the reins of government, and his rule lasted ten years (1540-50). A brave Mughal, brought up in the hard school and traditions of Babar and Humayun, he failed to win the heart of his subjects, although, we are told, he raised 'the country from ruin and desolation to prosperity and plenty'. His greatest fault was that he misunderstood the people. He behaved ruthlessly towards the Shias and Nurbakhshis particularly, although they formed the cream of the soldiery. Then he relegated competent Kashmiris to inferior positions in his administration. Thus he antagonised all and forced the disunited Kashmiri leaders to form an unholy alliance against him, and he paid with his life in 1550.

After four years Ghazi Khan, a stern and unscrupulous Chak leader, dethroned Habib Shah, the last king of the Shahmiri dynasty, and founded the Chak rule in 1554.

The rule of the Chaks lasted roughly 31 years (1555-86). It could not last longer. As a matter of fact, the Chaks had gathered intense opposition internally; then they had to reckon with their strongest rival, the great Akbar, externally.

Internally, they seem to have learnt much but forgotten nothing. Their past record stood against them. They did not identify themselves with indigenous traditions. They did not respect the sentiments of the Kashmiris. They did not treat them on an equal footing with themselves, particularly since 1506 when they seized power for the first time. Their conduct remained boorish, stern and ruthless. Then they inoculated their followers with false notions of prestige and power. When Ghazi Khan Chak dethroned Habib Shah and proclaimed himself sultan he disregarded national sentiment. When he ordered the hands of a boy of seven to be cut off for stealing fruit, he cast the shadows of Chak rule. What is more, the Chak leaders forgot that although they were physically and militarily superior, numerically they were most inferior. Yet they preached and practised aggressive jingoism—war, violence, treachery and murder—in order to dominate over the Kashmiris perpetually.

Externally, the first four Chak kings, Ghazi Shah, Husain Shah, Ali Shah and Lohar Shah (1555-80), were lucky to escape direct military interference from Akbar who had set his heart on Kashmir. With Yusuf Shah (1580-86) who was easy-going and luxurious, the circumstances were different. His greatest fault was that he revoked his loyalty to Akbar when he owed the throne to him. Meanwhile some reformist and progressive Kashmiris led by Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi appealed to Akbar for help, in fact they strengthened his hands. With Akbar possession of Kashmir became a moral and a prestige issue, and he despatched his army to reduce the country. Yusuf Shah surrendered himself in good faith. But he was treated as a political prisoner, and Kashmir lost her independence.

Nevertheless, his more resolute, soldierly but arrogant son, Yaqub Shah, continued to fight for independence. Ultimately, however, the sense that he was fighting a losing game dawned upon him. He surrendered in sheer defeat and frustration, and Kashmir became a Mughal *subah* (province) in 1586.

Mughals and Pathans (1586-1819)

The rule of the great Mughals (1586-1707) proved a blessing in disguise. They took special interest in establishing government by law and improving the social and economic conditions of the population who had been groaning inwardly for more than a century under the injustice and tyranny of their own hard-hearted and selfish rulers. They paid several visits to the country.

The reign of Akbar (1586-1605) particularly stands out as another glorious period after that of Zain-ul-Abiden. Akbar left behind indelible marks of a benevolent, munificent and secular ruler. He regarded Kashmir as his personal 'garden', and embarked upon a programme of ambitious and sweeping reforms for the peace and prosperity of the population. He established an ordered government, and showed intense activity to improve the lot of the masses. He got the revenue system thoroughly overhauled; administrative chaos was resolved and ryots were relieved of burdensome demands; religious toleration and secular traditions were promulgated; and Muslims and Hindus were treated alike. He connected the valley with the Punjab by a direct high-road, and encouraged regular flow of transport and communication. Trade was stimulated and wealth began to flow in abundance. On one building alone in Srinagar he spent one crore and ten lakh rupees.[11] In less than thirty years top Kashmiri nobles became quite rich. For example, one of them, Haidar Malik Chadura, the noted chronicler, was able to meet the expenses of rebuilding the Jama Masjid all by himself in 1618.

Jahangir visited Kashmir several times. His attraction remained deep and lasting. He treated Kashmir as his most precious possession. He participated in the feasts and festivals of the people. The charming terraced gardens, Nishat, Shalamar and Chashma Shahi, were laid out in his time; and he added to the wealth and welfare of the country.

11. See inscription on the main-gate (kathidarwaza) of Akbar's wall Chapter X, foot note 80)

More important than all this, he left behind a record of his personal impressions of the people and the country in his *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*.

Shahjahan visited Kashmir only a couple of times when he got the Shalamar garden, Vernag spring, Achabal garden, and many other gardens laid out with fountains, waterfalls, pavilions, fruits and flowers. Ali Mardan Khan, his noted builder, architect and statesman, got the imperial high-road connecting Kashmir with West-Punjab widened and dressed to suit heavy traffic. His greater contribution was the abolition of all burdensome and vexatious demands introduced by his greedy and unscrupulous governor, Itiqad Khan, as soon as the matter came to his notice. Then he made a personal appeal to the future rulers of Kashmir to follow his policy of public welfare. He took personal interest to alleviate the distress of the famine-stricken people, and ordered free kitchens to be run for them at the expense of the centre. His more enlightened and cultured son, Dara Shikoh, paid several visits to Kashmir accompanying his mentor, the famous Sufi, Mulla Shah. He laid out the Malla Shahi Bagh (garden), and the 'Kuntalon' (building) on the hill-slope overlooking the Dull lake, for the residence of Mullah Shah, and also encouraged religious toleration. His personal secretary was a Kashmiri Pandit, Chandra Bhan.

Even so the government of Kashmir like that of any other Mughal province was conducted by the governors (*subahdars*) who, till the end of 1707, were the choice of the emperors themselves. After 1707 they belied the pious hopes of the great Mughals. They behaved like conquerors and their policy rested on medieval conception of conquest. They ruled with a high hand and extorted as much revenue as they could to fill their coffers to capacity. They remained callous to the woes and tears of the masses and afforded them no opportunity to satisfy their creature comforts. They treated them as beasts of burden and delighted in seeing them poverty-stricken, down-trodden and shrivelled. The Mughal rule was followed by the rule of the Pathans in 1753. Most of the Pathan governors were fierce tyrants.

They treated the Kashmiris as beasts, and their officers never gave an order 'without first striking the Kashmiris a blow with the back of their axes'. They fleeced them to the bone and ruled like fiends. 'The revenue was screwed up very high, while the land went out of the cultivation, the population thinned and trade and industry went off. Everywhere there was desolation and despair.'[12]

III

SOURCES OF REVENUE

Taxes and Cesses

In addition to the land revenue other sources of the income of the state consisted of ferry-toll, bridge-toll, tax on imports and exports, cess on arts and crafts (*rasum-i-hirfa garan*), on boatmen and the produce of lakes (*rasum-mirbahri*), tax on fire-wood (*wan-waziri*), on cattle (*gaw-shumari*), and on trees (*sar darakhti*). The *begar*, or forced unpaid labour, was demanded from the adult male villagers particularly. Then the Hindus paid the cremation tax and the *jizya*, while the Muslims paid the *zakat*. Zain-ul-Abiden and Akbar abolished most of these taxes, particularly, the cremation tax, the *jizya*, and the *begar*.

But unscrupulous and grasping Mughal and Pathan governors introduced new taxes. For example Itiqad Khan (1620-23) introduced the system of *begar* for collecting saffron flowers, levied tax on fruit trees, and enhanced current taxes. The Pathan governor, Haji Karimdad Khan (1776-83), introduced burdensome taxes, such as *zari niaz* (presentation-tax), *zar-i-ashkhas* (income-tax), *zar-i-hubbah* (grain-tax), *zar-i-Dudah* (chimney-tax), *dagh shal* (tax on shawls), and *damdhari* (tax on bird-catchers).

Land Revenue

Land revenue was the main source of the income of the state. Shahmir fixed the land revenue at one-sixth of gross

12. Sarkar, J. N., *Condition of Kashmiri People Under Muslim Rule*, *op. cit.*, 1949

produce. Zain-ul-Abiden maintained this practice. His successors charged one-third.

After Kashmir was annexed to his dominion by Akbar its revenue system was overhauled. The entire country was measured and assessed. In 1589 Akbar entrusted this work to Shaikh Faizi, Mir Sharif Amuli and Khwaja Muhammad Husain. They fixed one-third of the autumn produce (*kharif*) as the share of the state. The assessment was made on the basis of the number of *kharwars* of *shali* harvested that year. For the spring crops (*rabi*) like wheat, barley, pulses, etc., the share of the state for each *patta* of land was fixed at two *traks* of the gross produce. The annual revenue was assessed at 22 lakh *kharwars*.

Soon, however, this assessment was found to be based on fictitious returns because Mirza Yusuf Khan Rizwi, the governor, had concealed facts. Thereby he had defrauded eleven lakh *kharwars*. A second assessment was, therefore, carried out under the supervision of Husain Beg Shaikh Umri and Qazi Ali. The entire country was divided into 41 parganas. The revenue of each pargana was settled both in cash and kind. Then lands held by the soldiery for their maintenance were resumed and they were paid in cash. The total revenue was fixed at 30,63,050 *kharwars*, 11 *traks*.

Naturally this arrangement was not welcomed by the governor, his personal staff, the ryots of Kashmir and the soldiery, because all of them had been in the habit of concealing a sizable portion from actual produce. They protested and also raised a revolt in 1592. But they were humbled. The procedure laid down by Akbar continued unchanged till 1819 when Muslim rule ended in theory.

IV

ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM

Under independent sultans the administrative system was feudal. The sultan was the apex of the whole organisation. He was assisted by a council of ministers, provincial governors, military commanders, the *umara* and the

ulama. Their appointment was made by him. They held jagirs in lieu of the services they rendered to the state in times of peace and war. The personality of the sultan determined his position and prestige. A strong sultan like Zain-ul-Abiden dominated over the council. But his weak successors (1484-1540) were dominated and controlled. They were treated as robots by the leaders of the party in power, who acted as wazirs or prime ministers.

In normal times the wazir was the most trusted lieutenant of the sultan. Rinchan Shah appointed Shahmir his wazir. Thereafter the post was generally held by the brother of the reigning sultan. Zain-ul-Abiden departed from this practice. After the death of his brother Muhammad Khan, he appointed Tilakacharya, a Buddhist, his wazir.

Then there were the provincial governors. They were known as *mandalesa* in Hindu times. The post of a provincial governor was important, responsible and lucrative. The strength or weakness of the central government depended, to a large extent, on their attitude and character. Hindu rulers were especially particular to select officers of admitted integrity, loyalty and efficiency for the posts of provincial governors. Raja Jayasimha (1128-55) nominated his heir to the throne as governor of the important province of Punch. Shahmir followed this practice. Zain-ul-Abiden appointed his two sons, Adam Khan and Haji Khan, to act as governors of Kamraz and Punch respectively. His two immediate successors, Haidar Shah and Hasan Shah, also followed this practice. Under the party system of government (1484-1540), provincial governors were the trusted lieutenants of the wazir. The office ceased after Kashmir lost her independence.

In the district (pargana) administration the most important and powerful officer was the malik. The other important officials were the tahsildar, patwari and *muharrir-i-adalat*, known as *niyogi*, *gramadivira* and *ashtadivira* respectively under Hindu rulers. A brief description of their respective functions and character has historical interest since they reflect the unchanged character of the

village administration from ancient times. The chief revenue and judicial village officials, mentioned below, continue to suffer from the ancestral itch to make money by fraudulent means even at present. They coerced the ryots and practically fleeced them.[13]

1. *Tahsildar* (*Niyogi*)

He was the chief executive and judicial officer of a district and controlled the administration of its villages, checked the revenue, inspected roads and canals, and looked after their maintenance. Ksemendra[14] depicts him as a merciless person who inflicted harsh punishments on the villagers. For example, he confiscated property, imprisoned people and levied *bagar*. He collected blankets, ghee, salt, pepper, pulses, fruits, shoes, wooden chowkies, and other articles of household use from the villagers as bribe.

2. *Patwari* (*Gramadivira*)

He was expert in making fraudulent entries in the village register in order to help those who bribed him and harm those who did not. He was as grasping as his superior officer, the tahsildar.

3. *Muharrir-i-Adalat* (*Ashtadivira*)

A typical *muharrir-i-adalat* (court superintendent) has been described by Ksemendra[15] as a vicious, extremely selfish and fraudulent official who did not spare even his son-in-law, if he was involved in a criminal case. He was a man of low character spending his nights in drinking and debauchery. His only aim in service was to amass property by means of bribery and fraud.

Among the officers who remained very close to the sultans, after the loss of independence to the Mughal and

13. See Lawrence, *op. cit.*, pp. 399-453
14. Ksemendra, *Narmala*, pp. 10-20
15. *Ibid.*

Pathan governors, mention may be made of the *dewan*, *bakhshi*, *qazi*, *mir adal* and *mufti*. The *wazir* and *sipahsalar* disappeared after the loss of independence. The Mughal and Pathan governors themselves performed these functions. Similarly, the office of the *vakil* (ambassador) also disappeared with the independent sultans. It was first created by Sultan Sikandar in 1398 when he sent Maulana Nur-ud-din Badakhshani as his vakil to Timur. Mirza Haidar Dughlat (1540-50) also sent his vakil to the court of Sultan Rashid Khan of Kashghar. The vakil became a permanent feature of administration during the reign of the later Chaks (1562-85) when Akbar began to take increasing interest in the internal affairs of Kashmir. In 1568 Akbar sent Mirza Muqim as his first vakil to the court of Husain Shah Chak. Ali Shah reciprocated the courtesy and sent Muhammad Qasim as his vakil to the court of the emperor. When we consider the circumstances under which the sultans of Kashmir appointed their vakils at the foreign courts, it cannot but be admitted that they did so as suppliants and not as strong, independent sovereigns.

All the above-mentioned officers were hereditary, usually son succeeding to the office of the father. Dismissals were rare; but it was an age of favouritism and corruption. It is indeed amazing to note that in character and outlook all these officers continued unchanged for more than one thousand years.

With the establishment of the Mughal and later Pathan rule in Kashmir, foreign officials came to take charge of the different departments of administration in increasing numbers. The official hierarchy gradually expanded and new portfolios came into existence though they were not permanent. Each governor brought with him his own secretariat staff. The Kashmiri proverb, '*Yelih Yamsand Subahdeer Teleh Tamsand Peshkar*' (Every subahdar came with his own secretariat staff), explains this principle.

The head of government was the *subahdar* (governor). His chief advisers were the *naib* (deputy-governor), *sahibkar* (chief secretary), *dewan* (controller of revenue and

finance), *qanungo* (settlement commissioner and revenue remembrancer) and *peshkar* (personal assistant). The governors were invariably Muslims; so were their chief advisers. Raja Sukhjewanmal (1754-56) was the only exception. Under the Pathan rule (1753-1819), however, there were occasions when Kashmiri Pandits held the posts of revenue collectors, chief secretaries and personal assistants. This was not the case under the rule of the Mughals (1586-1752). They held the Kashmiris in contempt. They were totally debarred from military service. No talented Kashmiri was appointed a *mansabdar* or gazetted officer. It was for the first time in 1700 that Fazil Khan as governor (1697-1701) succeeded in persuading Aurangzeb to appoint a few Kashmiris on inferior administrative posts. Otherwise they discharged the duties of low-paid inferior officials in the revenue department such as *patwaris*, *muharrirs* and *mahaldars* because no non-Kashmiri was found available or suitable. This policy of imperial preference led to serious consequences. The Kashmiri talent rusted and their character and outlook suffered a transformation.

V

CITY ADMINISTRATION

The health and happiness of the city population were the foremost concern of the administrators from early times. Though the seat of government in Srinagar changed from time to time, the city on the whole remained unchanged. Laid out on both sides of the Jehlam river it is situated within easy approach of the picturesque Dull lake and the beautiful view of the eastern mountain slopes. The panoramic beauty of the Dull lake always made it a very favourite place for excursions. The lower slopes of the mountain overlooking the lake were laid out with beautiful gardens in Hindu times. The great Mughals and their governors followed the practice. They laid out terraced gardens of exquisite beauty and charm. We are told

that there existed some 700 gardens[16] around the Dull lake when the Pathan rule was established in 1753.

The internal administration of the city was controlled by the city prefect, who was designated as *nagradhikrta* by the Hindu and *kotwal* by the Muslim rulers. He looked after the health, happiness and general security of the inhabitants of the capital and also controlled the markets and all sorts of corruption. Zain-ul-Abiden took pains to lay-out the city keeping in view the principles of health. He appointed *darogha-i-amarat* whose functions were analogous to the modern town-planner. Mirza Haidar Dughlat was simply astonished when he saw the city at leisure in 1543. He found it largely populated. There were many lofty buildings constructed of fresh cut pine. Most of them were five-storey high. Each storey contained apartments, halls, galleries and towers. The streets were paved with hewn stone. There were only shops of retail dealers—grocers, drapers, etc. There were no large bazars, for wholesale business was done by the traders in their own houses or factories.

Neither the Mughal nor Pathan governors made any alterations in the general pattern of the old city. Akbar's governor, Muhammad Quli Khan, laid out the new town which he called Nagar Nagar, on the eastern slope of the Hari Parbat hillock, to accommodate the Mughal nobility and soldiery. In 1597 he also started the construction of the wall around the new town.

The Pathan governors similarly laid out a new town for their official residence at Darabagh, in the Amirakadal quarter of Srinagar, enclosed by a fortified wall whose ruins are extant. The fort on the top of the Hari Parbat hillock was built by the Pathan governor, Ata Muhammad Khan, to accommodate the cream of the Pathan soldiery.

Under the Mughal and Pathan rulers the general lot of city population does not seem to have improved, rather it had begun to deteriorate gradually. These resourceful

16. *Tarikh-i Hasan*, (Ms.)

rulers seem to have taken no interest to improve the sanitary condition of the city. During his visit to Kashmir in 1783, Forster found 'the streets of Srinagar narrow and choked with the filth of the inhabitants'.[17] Moorcroft, who visited Kashmir in about 1823, that is only four years after the overthrow of the Pathan rule, had a sadder experience. He gives a closer picture of the condition of the city which shows the amount of deterioration and decay that had set in under cruel and grasping Mughal and Pathan governors since 1707. He writes: 'The general character of the city is that of a confused mass of ill-favoured buildings, forming a complicated labyrinth of narrow and dirty lanes and having a small gutter in the centre, full of filth, banked up on each side by a border of mire. The houses are mostly in a neglected and ruinous condition with broken doors or no doors at all, with windows stopped with boards, paper or rags... all a striking picture of wretchedness and decay.'[18]

VI

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Rural Life

Kashmir is essentially an agricultural country. Large tracts of forests, pastures, alluvial soil, and abundance of water sustain agricultural economy. The main source of production is land. The agricultural implements are few and simple. They consist of a plough of wood, an iron-tipped plough-share, wooden mallet and draught cattle. There is also the wooden spade to dig out turf clods, the light hand hoe to weed and loosen the soil and the universal pestle and mortar to pound *shali*.

Agricultural land is generally irrigated by canals which are fed by ever running mountain streams. The geographical position and natural formation of the valley render

17. Forster, *op. cit.*, II, p. 10
18. Moorcroft, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 127-28

irrigation easy and abundant. There have been no violent dislocations of economic life. On the whole, life has been stereotyped and extremely simple, frugal and continuous. In normal times and under favourable administration, the Kashmiri peasant was the most contented creature. He remained self-reliant and hardy. He believed in the maxim, '*Yus Karih gonglu sui Karih Krao*', meaning 'he who ploughs shall reap'. Convulsive political changes and official oppressions, on doubt, made him a fatalist. He took misfortunes and calamities of life with angelic equanimity. All the same, misfortunes of life and the natural position of the country made him sullen, desperate, suspicious, superstitious, vain and cowardly. In normal times he remained generally lively, ingenious, witty and of good humour—the 'Neapolitan of the East'. His smiles were bigger than in Delhi or Kabul. He had an inner contentment and a capacity to come to terms with himself and his environment.

Situated amidst natural panorama of hills, dense growth of trees, alluvial fields, and a stream running by, the Kashmiri village, economically speaking, was a self-sufficient unit. There has been the same harmonious coordination among its special groups of workers as we find in an Indian village. The husbandman, the womenfolk, the carpenter, the weaver, the black-smith, the potter, the cobbler, the washerman, the shepherd, the *won* (grocer), the *galadar* (corn-dealer) and the *pir* and *faqir*, who have all been connected with the village economy, contribute their share individually as well as collectively, to the economic stability of the village. The periodical *urs* (fairs) gave to the remotely placed villagers opportunities to meet and exchange their commodities.

Produce of Land and Water

Most of the cultivation is done on land, but the lakes too furnish large quantities of food-stuffs. The chief autumnal (*kharif*) crop consists of rice, maize, cotton, millet, buck-wheat, pulses and sesame. Wheat, barley, opium,

poppy, flax, peas and beans belong to the spring (*rabi*) crops.

Rice has been the staple food of the population. The rice harvest depends on special conditions to ensure a full measure of success—heavy snows on the mountains in winter to fill the streams in summer; good rains in March, and warm days and cool nights in the following months, and absence of rain while harvest is ripening. Otherwise, there is famine and famines killed thousands. Zain-ul-Abiden attempted to introduce the cultivation of sugar-cane, but the experiment did not succeed.

Among the products of water, 'singhara' (*trapa-bispinosa*), or horned waternut, locally called *gor*, possesses great food value. It ripens in October. A large quantity grows in the Woolar lake. In 1865,[19] the total produce from this lake alone was estimated at 60,000 tons, which served the purpose of food for 30,000 persons for five months. The second article of food of spontaneous growth in the lakes is 'kanval' (*nymphaea-lotus*), know as 'bhin' to the Punjabis, 'nadur' in Kashmir and 'kawalgata' in rest of India. Next is the 'jowar' (*euryale ferox*), known as 'makhane' in northern India. It possesses great food value.

The famous floating islands in the Dull lake, Anchar lake and Woolar lake are a specimen of the wonderful inventive genius of the Kashmiris. They are made of local reed and rush-like material of the lakes. They are nowhere else to be met with in the world except in the Titicaca lake in Peru, South America. The Kashmiris grow abundance of cucumbers, melons and vegetables on these islands.

Yet another important aquatic product is fish which is found in abundance. It has formed an important article of food from ancient times. There are more than eleven varieties of fish in the rivers and lakes in the valley.

Fruits and Flowers

Kashmir is a country of fruits and flowers. Perhaps no country in Asia has greater natural facilities for

19. Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 50

horticulture. Among the indigenous fruits mention may be made of apple, pear, grape, mulberry, walnut, quince, cherry, peach, apricot, raspberry, goose-berry and straw-berry. About the quality and quantity of Kashmiri fruits Mirza Haidar Dughlat wrote in 1541: 'Pears, mulberry and cherries are met with but the apples are particularly good. There are other fruits in plenty, sufficient to make one break one's resolution. Among the wonders of Kashmir are the quantities of mulberry trees (cultivated) for their leaves from which silk is obtained. In season fruit is so plentiful that it is rarely bought and sold. The holder of a garden and the man that has no garden are alike, for the gardens have no walls, and it is not usual to hinder anyone from taking the fruit.'[20] Within less than a decade of Mirza Haidar's death in 1550, however, restrictions on fruits appear to have become so stern that Ghazi Shah Chak (1554-62) ordered the hand of a boy of seven to be cut off for stealing fruits. Akbar and Jahangir introduced certain fruits of Kabul and Kandahar and took pains to develop the fruit industry. When Itiqad Khan (1622-32) as governor requisitioned private fruit gardens he compelled people to destroy their orchards, root and branch, in sheer frustration. He was dismissed by Shahjahan for his high-handedness.

Saffron

Among flowers, saffron (*crocus-sativus*) has had considerable commercial utility. From early times saffron of Kashmir has been famous. It has been in great demand both for purposes of condiment and pigment. Saffron pomade and saffron ointment are repeatedly mentioned by Kalhana as a royal privilege.

Saffron is chiefly cultivated in the neighbourhood of Pampur along the right bank of the Jehlam river between Litapore and Sempore villages. According to Abul Fazl,[21] it was also cultivated in Indarkot on one mile long plot.

20. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, *op. cit.*, p. 425
21. *Ain* (Blochmann), Vol. I, pp. 83-84

Perhaps he was misinformed, because Jahangir contradicts his statement when he writes: 'In the whole country of Kashmir there is saffron only in Pampur.'[22] We read that Colonel Mian Singh (1821) as governor of Kashmir, in the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, made an experiment to cultivate saffron on the slopes of Damodhar Udar and Martand, but it was not a success. Outside Kashmir it grows in Kishtwar.

Saffron was a royal monopoly. Under independent sultans, saffron flowers were picked by compulsory labour (*begar*). Men were pressed; they were made to separate saffron flowers from the petals and the stems. And they received only some salt as remuneration. A man who cleared two *pals* of flowers received two *pals* of salt. Under Ghazi Khan Chak picking of saffron flowers by compulsion was discouraged. Those who were employed to pick the flowers were given eleven *traks* to clean, out of which they received one *trak* as their wages. For the remaining ten *traks* they had to furnish two Akbarshahi seers of clean dry saffron, i.e., for two Akbarshahi *mans* of uncleaned saffron two seers of cleaned saffron flowers were demanded.

This cruel contract-system was abolished by Akbar in 1597. After his death, however, men and women were once more compelled to pick the flowers; they were given only some salt as remuneration. When such cruelties came to the notice of Shahjahan he abolished the system by royal proclamation. He ordered that saffron belonging to the *khalsa* (crown land) should be picked by men who should be suitably remunerated. But he allowed jagirdars, who had their own saffron fields, to pick the flowers as they liked. Under Pathan rulers saffron produce was auctioned. The highest bidder deposited money into the government treasury; then he collected the flowers and sold them as he pleased. The same practice was followed by the Sikh and Dogra rulers. Suffron picking is a very arduous job; its fragrance causes severe headache and often unconsciousness too.

22. *Tuzuk, op. cit.*, p. 177

VII

INDUSTRIES

If Kashmir is celebrated as the choicest beauty spot in Asia, the Kashmiris by their natural instinct or gift rendered themselves famous as excellent artisans and craftsmen. During the winter when all means of communication and transport came to a standstill cottage industries formed the means of livelihood of the majority of the inhabitants, both men and women. They took full advantage of the natural resources which they had in abundance, and fulfilled the truth of the saying, 'labour is the father, and natural resources the mother of wealth'.

During the period under review many cottage industries of considerable importance and commercial value were developed. The Kashmiris manufactured textiles, writing paper, and the famous papier-mache articles, etc. They had deft hands for wood-carving, stone-work, stone-polishing, glass-blowing and willow-work. They also distilled wine and extracted essential oils. Bernier paid a glowing compliment to them when he wrote in 1663: 'The workmanship and beauty of their... (wood work) and other things are quite remarkable, and articles of their manufacture are in use in every part of the *Indies*.'[23]

Most of these industries were introduced and perfected in the reign of Sultan Zain-ul-Abiden. Himself a man of profound imagination and foresight, Zain-ul-Abiden patronised some master artisans and craftsmen of Persia, Samarqand and Bokhara, and settled them in Kashmir. They popularised their special arts and crafts among the Kashmiris. Thus he kept both men and women gainfully occupied during winter months, particularly, without idling away their time and living at the verge of starvation. And he rendered Kashmir a museum of some excellent arts and crafts. Srivara gives a first-hand valuable account of the manufacture of carpets and silk fabrics in the time of this great sultan.

23. Bernier, *op. cit.*, p. 402

Mirza Haidar Dughlat was wonder-struck with the excellence of Kashmiri arts and crafts and the artistic genius of the Kashmiris. He writes: 'In Kashmir one meets with all those arts and crafts which are in most countries uncommon, such as stone-polishing, stone-cutting, bottle-making, window-cutting (*tabdan-tarashi*) and gold-beating, etc.' He found them in abundance in this country. He concludes: 'This is all due to Sultan Zain-ul-Abiden'[24]

Besides Srinagar, which became gradually the emporium of a variety of handicrafts, other towns, i.e. Anantnag (Islamabad), Sopur, Bandipur, Shupian, Zainagir and Kulgam, in particular, specialised as centres of some flourishing cottage industries. They bring us face to face with the old artisan, the methods of administration under which he worked, and his ingenious hands and ideas.

The spinning wheels and the power behind them were the symbols of ancient and poetic simplicity of Kashmiri life. Hand-spinning and hand-weaving was the basic, universal and elegant occupation of the women especially. Economically one of the most paying occupations, it kept more than 80 per cent women busy at the wheel. While it was the means of livelihood for the poor, women of rich and middle-class families prepared *pashmina* articles for their domestic use and, at the same time, remained gainfully engaged. Then the art had poetry and education behind it. The women recited legends, religious anecdotes and historical tales to their children while spinning. A description of some specific arts and crafts calls for notice:

1) *Pattu*

Rough wool is called 'yer' and the woollen stuff *pattu* in Kashmir. All articles of clothing for men and women before the Mughal rule were made of this stuff. Thereafter cotton cloth began to be imported in large quantity since cotton continues to be insufficiently produced locally.

24. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi, op. cit.*, p. 434

The *pattu* industry appears to have been well-organised during the reign of Zain-ul-Abiden. Even now the famous Zainagir rugs are in special demand. The warm woolen rugs (*lois*), *ekbari* and *dobari,* i.e. in one piece or two pieces, the *chadar-i-khudrang* and *qalam-pattu* were and continue to be in great demand and earned a considerable sum of money. They are the only cheap warm stuff suited for winter. The famous Kashmiri *gabbas* (stitched carpets) are made of worn-out pieces of rugs. After dyeing the pieces in different colours and cutting them in various geometrical designs they are stitched together and made into beautiful carpets. While best *pattu* rugs are manufactured in Bandipur, Sopur and Zainagir, Anantnag is famous for best *gabbas.*

2) *Shawls*

Kashmir was perhaps most famous throughout the world for her shawls. The wool, locally known as *kilphamb,* of which the shawls are textured, is found upon goats, yaks and dogs on the Pamir terrain. It is exceedingly fine, and so warm that it protects these animals from excessive chill and blizzards. For centuries the Kashmiri cratfsmen manufactured shawls whose superfineness became almost legendary. There is no magic in the fact that a complete shawl (ring shawl) could be pulled through a signet ring. The secret lay in the natural superfineness of the wool which was imported from Thanshan (Pamir mountains) and the artistic perfection of the Kashmiri weavers.

From time immemorial shawl-wool was imported from Tibet and Ladakh. During the nineteenth century Kashmir imported 1,28,000 lbs. annually.[25] It is the finished embroidered shawl that has rendered Kashmir famous in the world. The demand for Kashmiri shawls was at its highest in India during the Mughal rule.

From the day the shawl-wool dealer (*pasham farosh*) supplied coarse hair to women in the valley to spin till

25. Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 55

the shawl-weaver (*shalbaf*) returned the finished stuff, its history was long and indigenous. The various intricacies entailed in the process of shawl manufacture and the superfineness of the finished stuff rendered the shawl a valuable article of trade.

Shawl-wool had considerable economic and commercial advantages to Kashmir. From the moment it was purchased in Ladakh or Tibet till it came in the finished form from the weaver and the embroiderer, nearly fifteen different families, who were associated with the various processes of its manufacture, earned their living by it. It achieved international importance and was in great demand in Europe. After the Franco-German war of 1870, however, its demand in Europe gradually decreased. But, simultaneously, the demand from India began to increase. Since the instrusion of China into Tibet, in 1956, the export of shawl wool from Tibet has became so restricted that this valuable industry may soon disappear from Kashmir unless some alternative source is made available.

It was Zain-ul-Abiden who rendered shawl manufacture a flourishing national industry. From his time Kashmiri shawls began to be exported to India first as presents and subsequently as an article of profitable trade. There were several types of finished shawls, *jamawar* being the best. Akbar called the finest shawl by the name of '*parm narm*'. From the time he annexed Kashmir (1586) the shawl became a coveted article of Mughal luxury, and its price varied from a couple of hundreds to several thousands. At the height of the Pathan rule in 1783, 'the price at the loom of an ordinary shawl was eight rupees, and a very fine piece was sold at forty rupees... But the value of the commodity was largely enhanced by the introduction of flowered work... which raised the price to one hundred and fifty rupees.'[26] In 1835, when the Sikh rule was fourteen years old, a finished flowered shawl cost three thousand rupees.[27]

26. Forster, *op. cit.*, II, p. 18
27. Hugel, *Travels* (Jervis), p. 120

3) *Silk*

Mention of silk clothings is made for the first time in the reign of Zain-ul-Abiden. That the silk worm was introduced into Kashmir by Mirza Haidar Dughlat is wrongly supposed by European travellers. Mirza Haidar Dughlat as ruler of Kashmir (1540-50) found the silk stuff already in existence here. He writes: 'Among the wonders of Kashmir are the quantities of mulberry trees cultivated for their leaves from which silk is obtained.'[28] According to Jahangir,[29] Kashmir imported silk-worm eggs from Gilgit and Tibet. But silk industry, it appears, was not organised like the shawl industry as a commercial enterprise because its demand was not so large. In course of time, it began to replace the shawl industry from the beginning of twentieth century. Today it is the most thriving government-controlled industry and the means of livelihood of many people.

4) *Paper*

The process of making rag paper was first discovered in Samarqand. It was introduced into Kashmir by Muslim refugees from Persia and Samarqand between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The industry received personal attention and patronage of Zain-ul-Abiden, when he established it in Nowshahr, his official residence. Gradually it expanded and became popular. The Kashmiri rag paper was in great demand in India during the Mughal and Pathan times. Some of its polished specimens were known as *farmashi, dahmashi, kalamdani* and *rangmaz*. It could be washed, dried and used again. Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi in his letter addressed to Abdul Qadir Badauni writes: 'If you should have any need of Kashmir paper for rough notes and drafts, I hope that you will inform me of the fact, so that I may send you from Kashmir the rough copy of my commentaries, the writing

28. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi, op. cit.*, p. 425
29. *Tuzuk, op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 146

on which can be washed from the paper as completely that no trace of the ink will remain as you yourself have seen.'[30]

But rag paper had no lasting property. It could not last long unless it was suitably preserved. The Kashmiri copyists did not use it for copying precious documents. They used their own ancient and indigenous paper, the 'bhoj patr' (*betula Tartarica*). They prepared it from the inner bark of the Himalayan birch whose supply was inexhaustible. Abul Fazl observes: 'The people of Kashmir write chiefly on *tuz*, which is the bark of a tree, worked into sheets with some art and which keeps for years.'[31] It was in great demand in the time of Akbar. The Pandit writers and copyists used it until the end of the nineteenth century. Small sheets were used by *jotshis* and *pirs* for amulets. There is a written *bhoj patr* sheet in the Srinagar Museum dated 1576. It is 22 × 14 inches. It is perhaps the earliest extant specimen available. It is the *Wasiyat-namah* (Succession deed) of Hazrat Mukhdum Shaikh Hamza. That 'bhoj patr' as well as the writing on it stands immersion in water remarkably well was the experience of the late Sir Aurel Stein. His box containing the *Codex Archetypus* of the *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana, which was written in 1649, fell into the sea in the Ostende Harbour through the carelessness of his porters in 1890. Fortunately, he succeeded in recovering it. He writes: 'The soaking with sea water left no perceptible trace in the codex. Kashmiri paper of the old make stands immersions of this kind remarkably well and the ink used to this day by Kashmirian Pandits for their Sanskrit manuscripts is in no way affected by water.'[32]

Whether the rag paper or '*bhoj patr*' industry, it was the means of livelihood of a large number of Kashmiris, both Muslims and Pandits. While the industry engaged a considerable number of unskilled illiterate workers, a large number of literate skilled workers earned their bread by copying Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit manuscripts.

30. Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* (Text), II, p. 144
31. *Ain* (Jarrett), Vol. II, p. 352
32. See *Rajat*, Stein's edition, Vol. I, Introd., p. 46, *n* 5

According to the dependable account of the young and enterprising French traveller and scientist, Victor Jacquemont, there were in 1831 some 700 to 800 copyists in Kashmir. 'They work only on orders... they transcribe the *Quran* or the *Shahnamah*, and a very small number of other books which are the objects of a small but regular trade. The best are paid one rupee for every thousand couplets of the *Shahnamah* or *Hafiz*. Their maximum speed is 200 verses, and they consequently earn three annas a day. The trade in manuscripts was more extensive under Afghan rule.'[33]

VIII

ARTS AND CRAFTS

Willow Work

Kashmir has an abundance of mulberry and willow trees. The willow industry is a special feature of the cottage industry. The Kashmiri deft hands make wonderful things of the willow sticks, for instance, baskets, boxes, chairs and the famous *kangar*, etc. In the *kangar* (portable brazier), in particular, the indigenous art in willow-work appears to have reached its perfection.

Wood-Carving

The carpenters of Kashmir, too, are famous for their adroitness and excellence. Excellent specimens of their lattice-work (*tabdan tarashi*) are extant in the mosques of Shah-i-Hamadan, Bahauddin Sahib and Madin Sahib. The art caused much wonder to Mirza Haidar Dughlat (1543) and Dr. Bernier (1663). The carpenters of Kashmir also rendered themselves famous as builders of boats, *shikaras*, *parindas*, *takht-i-rawans*, *khatam bandi* (ornamented

33. Quoted by J. N. Sarkar, *Condition of Kashmiri People Under Muslim Rule*, *op. cit.*

ceilings) and as wood-carvers, cabinet-makers, and builders of wooden bridges.

Papier-mache

Papier-mache is a term which embraces numerous manufactures in which paper pulp is employed, pressed and moulded into various shapes. Lacquer, gold, silver and bright dyes are also used to give a glaring finish to the articles so made, for instance, pen-boxes, book-stands, picture-frames, soap-boxes and trays, etc. Papier-mache was also employed as a substitute for plaster in ornamented roofs. Originally the art was known as *kar-i-kalamdani*, because *kalamdans* or pen-cases, or *kar-i-munakash* or painted-ware were then its best specimens. The Kashmiris learnt the art from the Persian and Central-Asian immigrants.

Stone and Brick Work

According to Sir Alexander Cunningham,[34] the architectural remains of Kashmir are perhaps the most remarkable monuments of India. The extant ruins of the Hindu temples are a proof of artistic excellence and taste of their builders. Mirza Haidar Dughlat considered Hindu temples of Kashmir wonderful pieces of art. He writes, '(they) are built of blocks of hewn stone, fitted so accurately one upon the other that there is absolutely no cement used... (and) so carefully placed in position, without plaster or mortar, that a sheet of paper could not be passed between the joints.'[35] In equal terms he praises the stone-polishing art of Kashmir. Its extant specimens are the stones used in the pavilions of the Mughal gardens, particularly the Shalamar garden.

The stone-cutters of Kashmir chiselled excellent specimens, and dressed stones for pavements, floors, forts and

34. Cunningham, 'Temples of Kashmir', *JASB* (1848), Vol. II, p. 241 sqq.
35. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi, op. cit.*, p. 426

walls. On the construction of the stone wall around the Hari Parbat hillock Akbar spent one crore and ten lakh rupees.[36] Inside this wall Dara Shikoh built a residential house of dressed stones for Mullah Shah which cost him 60,000 rupees.[37] From these two examples one can imagine the enormous amount of money that was spent on the dressing and polishing of stones used for the pavilions of the Mughal gardens in Kashmir. All this money and much more helped to expand and stimulate social, economic and cultural activities of the people of Kashmir.

Brick work too reached a state of perfection during this period. Kashmiris learnt the art of making pucca bricks and polishing them from Muslim immigrants from Samarqand, Bokhara and Persia. Bricks were used for all kinds of buildings. The polished tiles lining the facade of the tomb of Madin Sahib and its entrance are excellently beautiful specimens. To quote Sir John Marshall, 'The tile-work in question is one of the most valuable antiquities which Kashmir possesses. There are only three monuments that I know of in India where such tiles can be found.'[38]

Pottery and Smithy

Among some minor but, all the same, useful industries mention may be made of pottery and smithy. The Kashmiris, both Hindus and Muslims, generally contented themselves until the coming of the Sikhs in 1819, with the use of earthen vessels which they made from fine Kashmir clay for purposes of cooking and as water containers. The Srinagar Museum has some excellent specimens of large earthen jars (locally called *mattis*), dug up at certain archaeological sites in the valley. They served as receptacles for grain and wine.

Iron and copper pits were found in Shahabad. But their

36. See foot note 11 *supra*
37. Lahouri, *Badshahnama;* Elliot and Dowson, *History*, Vol. VII, p. 97
38. Marshall, *Note on Archaeological Work in Kashmir*, 1908, pp. 34-35; Nichol, *Archaeological Survey Report*, 1907, p. 163

output was insufficient for domestic consumption. Since iron was in greater demand, it was imported from Punch as well as far-flung China.[39] The tools used for purposes of husbandry, carpentry and forestry were made of iron. The arrows used for purposes of fighting had iron tips. There is an extant quarter in Srinagar known as Kamangarpur where bows and arrows were manufactured, as its name implies. The Srinagar Museum has some excellent specimens of iron and steel swords, hatchets, pincers and hooks, etc. which were used as weapons of war in the past. The Russian tea-urn, called 'samovar', is an excellent specimen of Kashmir smithy.

IX

TRADE AND COMMERCE

In spite of tremendous difficulties of communication and transport, Kashmir remained linked with India through the south and with Tibet, Nepal, China, Central Asia and Kabul through the north and north-west, both culturally and commercially. Kashmiri merchants went 'almost everywhere, from Cashmeer to Teheran, and even to Meshed; they go through Lahore, Delhi, Bombay, Bushir, Shiraz; etc. without passing through Cabulistan, and for a good reason',[40] wrote Victor Jacquemont in 1831.

Before the establishment of the Muslim rule Kashmiris visited Allahabad (Prayaga Tirtha), Hardwar (Gangaji), Varanasi (Kasi), Lucknow (Ajodya) and Muttra (Brindaban), in fact, all important places in India for purposes of trade or pilgrimage. They went out with their merchandise and brought goods from distant and near places like Kabul, Yarkand and Samarqand on the one hand, and India, Ladakh, Baltistan, Tibet and China on the other.

Under normal conditions salt was imported from Gujrat and Rawalpindi (West Punjab) and sometimes from Ladakh

39. Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, p. CXCII
40. Jacquemont, *Letters from India—A Journey*, Vol. II, p. 172

Kachi Chak.[51] The negotiations between Abdal Magre and Regi Chak on the one hand, and Mirza Haidar on the other, were conducted by one Khwaja Haji. Mirza Haidar, who had very reluctantly abandoned Kashmir in 1533, entered into the project very warmly. And as soon as Kamran returned from Kandahar in 1538, the Mirza succeeded in persuading him to accept the proposition which was already one of the items in his scheme of conquests. Kamran lost no time to avail of the opportunity. He sent Baba Chuchak,[52] one of his most experienced generals, with a considerable force, to invade Kashmir, and to restore the government of the country to Abdal Magre.

Soon after both Kamran and Mirza Haidar had to advance to Agra with an army of 20,000 men to assist Humayun who had been defeated by Sher Shah Sur at Chausa. Though later on Kamran declined to assist his brother, Mirza Haidar showed a better character and fought shoulder to shoulder with him. In the face of these developments,

51. Mirza Haidar confuses Kachi Chak with Abdal Magre (*Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), p. 482). He says that they had been turned out of Kashmir, and 'appealed to me for help'. Further he adds, 'Kachi Chak had been forced to disconnect himself (thrice previously) from the government of Kashmir. His own wife and children had not been with him for he had left them in the care of Malik Abdal Magre, and had gone off.' (*Ibid.*, p. 485). Abul Fazl repeats this confusion. He writes at one place Abdal Makari (Magre) and Zungi Chak (Regi Chak) were opposed to the ruler of Kashmir and came to Lahore in order that by their intimacy with Mirza Haidar they might obtain an army; so Mirza Haidar was disposed to make himself independent by using the craft and perfidy which are indispensable to Kashmiris, etc. (*Akbarnama* (Beveridge), Vol. I, pp. 359, 403.) From these notices it appears that Kachi Chak was also in collusion with Mirza Haidar before the latter occupied the country which is not true. In fact, it was Kachi Chak who had forced Abdal Magre and Regi Chak to seek refuge in the hills when they entered into communication with Mirza Haidar whom they encouraged to occupy Kashmir, when Kachi Chak left the country in helplessness. This is supported by Nizam-ud-din, Firishta and the chroniclers of Kashmir. (*Tabaqat*, p. 615; Firishta, ii, p. 355; *Baharistan*, f. 106b; *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik*, p. 47; Suka, pp. 378-79)

52. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), p. 482; *Akbarnama*, (Beveridge), Vol. I, p. 359

Baba Chuchak, who was not very earnest to undertake the expedition to Kashmir, gave it up.[53]

Meanwhile, the disastrous defeat of Humayun and the rout of his troops at Kanauj, on 17 May 1540,[54] forced both Humayun and Mirza Haidar Dughlat to escape to Lahore for safety. The ever-vigilant and opportunist Kashmiri leaders, Abdal Magre and Regi Chak, who had all along been biding their time outside Kashmir, resumed negotiations with Mirza Haidar. The latter on his part succeeded to impress on the fugitive emperor the advantages that would result from the invasion of Kashmir. He urged on him that the geographical position of the country would serve as a *point d'appui* for the recovery of the lost empire. Having become convinced, Humayun furnished the Mirza with a small contingent of four hundred soldiers.[55] With this negligible army he reached Nowshahr.[56]

By this time the circumstances at Lahore had considerably altered. Humayun's schemes were thwarted by his deceitful brothers, Kamran and Askari. He was therefore forced to return to Sind. This news reached Mirza Haidar at Nowshahr, and immediately he was deserted by his chief lieutenants, Khawaja Kalan and Sikandar Tupchi.[57] Yet with the daring of despair he marched on Kashmir. He took the lengthy Punch route because he found it unguarded. He circumvented Kachi Chak,[58] who was then the vir-

53. *Ibid.*

54. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), pp. 471-77; Stewart, *Tazkirat-ul-Waqiat*, pp. 21 sqq; Elliot and Dowson, *Hist. of Ind.*, Vol. V, pp. 143-44; *Tarikh-i-Shershahi* (A.U. Ms.), p. 154; *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, p. 176

55. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), p. 479. Mirza Haidar was furnished with a small contingent of four hundred free-men and slaves. (*Ibid.*; Ahmad Yadgar, *Tarikh-i-Shahi* (Bib. Ind.), pp. 157-58)

56. Nowshahr or Naoshera (Lat. 33° 10′, Long. 74° 18′) is situated on high ground to the north-side of the fertile valley, three hundred feet above the right bank of the (Punch) Tawi river. It lies on the Pir Panjal route to the north of Bhimbar at a distance of 27 miles, and 122 miles south-west of Srinagar. (Bates, *Gazetteer*, p. 289)

57. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), p. 483; *Akbarnama* (Beveridge), Vol. I, p. 401

58. *Akbarnama, Ibid.*

also came into vogue and goods began to be despatched to and from distant places on the authority of the *hundis*.

Unfortunately, we do not possess sufficient data to fix the *shali* currency in terms of cash (*dinar*) currency. The available stray references, however, suggest that the price of a *kharwar* of *shali*, during the prosperous period of the reign of Avantivarman (855-83), was 200 *dinars*. It rose to 1,050 *dinars* during the famine period in the same reign. Under the government of Zain-ul-Abiden (1420-70), the price of *shali* in good years was 300 *dinars*. As a result of the famine of 1462 it rose to 1,500. In the reign of Muhammad Shah, due to the famine of 1534, the price shot up to 10,000 *dinars*. Qazi Ali (1587), after taking the prices current for several years, fixed the average price of a *kharwar* of *shali* at 29 *dams* or 2,900 *dinars*. In the reign of Shahjahan the price was fixed at 24 *dams* or 2,400 *dinars*. Under Pathan rulers the price was fixed at five rupees a *kharwar* in the time of Mirdad Khan (1786-88), and fifteen rupees in 1813 when famine was at its worst. In 1946 the government controlled price of *shali* was seven rupees or 28,000 *dinars*, according to Abul Fazl's 1587 estimate.

2) *Salt*

An essential article of life, salt has always remained very expensive in Kashmir, as it is not available locally and had to be imported from Ladakh, West Punjab and distant Bengal. It goes to the credit of the hardy and enterprising Kashmiri merchants to arrange regular and economic supply of salt from one source or the other. They took heavy risks, both physical and monetary, to secure regular supply of salt. During the eighteenth century they travelled as far as Bengal to fetch salt. Nawab Mir Qasim,[44] writing to the British governor of Bengal, Henry Vansittart, in 1762, gives an eye-witness account of the troubles and

44. Henry Vansittart, *A Narrative of the Transactions in Bengal*, (1760-64), Vol. II, pp. 167-68

tribulations suffered by Kashmiri salt merchants. He says that for many years it was customary for the Kashmiri merchants to advance money at Sundarbans, in Bengal, and provide Malangies to work the salt pans there. They paid the rents for the salt pans, and the duties on the salt amounted to some thirty thousand rupees. In 1762, unfortunately, the people of the factory (meaning the British or their agents) dispossessed them and appropriated all their salt.

During the disorderly political conditions in the country (1480-85) when the passes to the south were closed, salt became so scarce that 1½ *palas* cost 25 *dinars*. That is to say, 32 seers of salt were sold for one rupee according to Abul Fazl's estimates. In 1946 the government controlled price of salt in Srinagar was only a rupee for five seers, while in 1947-48, owing to the aggression of Pakistani raiders, the local stocks of salt and tea were depleted to the extent that both these commodities became as precious as silver and gold.

Taking into consideration the above data, we can safely conclude: (1) the prices of necessaries under the independent sultans were much lower than in the Mughal and Pathan times. Living conditions during the earlier period were much cheaper than in the latter. (2) The monetary value of the Kashmiri *dinar* was insignificant except for purposes of calculation. The condition remained unchanged till 1819. To quote one concrete example,[45] on 10 July 1682, two Kashmiri Pandit brothers, Pandit Lala and Pandit Srikanth, residents of Mohalla Diddamar, Srinagar, sold two manuscript volumes of the *Mahabharata* for 45,000 *dinars*. Apparently a very enormous figure, but when we convert the figure into rupees of Abul Fazl's estimates it comes to 11¼ rupees only. Nevertheless, the sellers of the manuscripts, according to the prevalent rate of *shali*, were able to fetch some 40 *kharwars* of *shali* for this money, which

45. Stein, 'Sale Deed of Kashmirian Mahabharata', *JRAS* (1900), pp. 187-94

sufficed a family of four members for a period of eighteen months.

XI

CULTURAL CONDITIONS

The Kashmiri culture, like the Indian culture, is the product of a variety of ideas, beliefs, customs, rites, institutions and religions. From the dawn of history Kashmir has been the meeting place of varied and conflicting cultures. All these forces and impulses played an important part in shaping the thought of the Kashmiris and in rendering the country culturally a beautiful mosaic.

1) *Under Hindu Rulers*

Before the advent of Islam the inhabitants of Kashmir were Naga worshippers; subsequently they embraced Buddhism, Brahmanism and some followed Jainism also. For centuries Buddhists and Brahmans struggled for supremacy. Buddhism lost royal patronage and popular support by the beginning of the seventh century. According to Hiuen Tsiang[46] the country was not given to the faith of the Buddha and the temples of the heretics (Brahmans) were the main thought of their kings. Loss of royal patronage gradually caused degradation to Buddhism both culturally and morally. Kashmir had married *Bhiksus* before elsewhere in India; in course of time they became morally so degraded that they became drunkards, gamblers, meat-eaters and debauchers.[47] Subsequently, the Buddhists got

46. *Si-yu-Ki* (Beal), pp. 148 *sq*, 158

47. An estimate of the general state of the degradation of the *Bhiksus* can be formed from the following notice of Ksemendra (11th century)—(*Lokaprakasa; Indische Studien*, 1898, Vol. XVIII, p. 367)

Sanskrit text	*English translation*
Q. *Bhiksu! Kantha cadaya patha kim?*	Q. Bhiksu! Why is Your body so emaciated?
A. *Nanu chaphara vadye shaitsi.*	A. On account of catching fish.

absorbed into the Hindu society; thereafter Buddhism almost disappeared. According to the census of 1911, Buddhists formed a negligible number in the valley.

In the heyday of the Hindu rule Hindu *literati* produced works of a very high order in the various fields of knowledge—general science, philosophy, literature, poetry, drama, history and politics. Kashmir is proud of reputed savants like Abhinavagupta, Somadeva, Damodara Gupta, Bilhana, Ksemendra and Kalhana, who are only a few stars of the galaxy.

With the turn of the tenth century political chaos in the north-western region and the Punjab (modern Afghanistan and Pakistan), caused by a chain of Mongol and Turkish invasions, had serious repercussions on Kashmir also. Raja Harsha (1089-1101) is the epitome of the social, moral, intellectual and political degradation Kashmir had reached then. Hindu Kashmir suffered from a sort of palsy. Like insects the Hindus were grovelling in the dust of inertia and ignorance. And the responsibility was mainly of the Brahmans. The Brahman *gurus* in sheer vanity considered themselves privileged hierophants of Hinduism although they were no better than Buddhist *bhiksus*. They

Sanskrit text	*English translation*
Q. *Matsyans?*	Q. Do you eat fish?
A. *Te me madya vadanca.*	A. Yes, because it is part and parcel of wine.
Q. *Pibasi madhu?*	Q. Do you drink wine?
3. *Samam vacyam.*	A. Yes, in the company of women.
Q. *Yasi vacyam?*	Q. Do you mix with women? (commit debauchery)?
A. *Dattva rimam gale neghrim.*	A. Yes, after I strangle my enemies.
Q. *Kimu tava tipave?*	Q. Have you enemies?
A. *Yeshu samdhim chinadmi.*	A. Because I burgle (houses).
Q. *Cavras ivam?*	Q. Are you a thief?
A. *Dyuta-hetch.*	A. Yes, because I gamble.
Q. *Tvam asi ca kitavas?*	Q. Are you a gambler?
A. *Tena Bhiksu.* *Namaste.*	A. Yes, because I am a *Bhiksu*. Live Long!

practised magic, sorcery and black-art and preached formalist, hypocritic religion. A degraded and immoral type of *tantric* worship swayed the religious life. Serpent worship had been the prevailing religion in Kashmir from time immemorial.[48] Abul Fazl found the whole of Kashmir 'regarded as holy ground by the Hindu sages; 45 shrines are dedicated to Mahadeva, 64 to Vishnu, 3 to Brahma and 22 to Durga. In seven hundred places there are graven images of snakes which they worship and regarding which wonderful legends are told.'[49] Thus showy Hinduism, i.e., offering worship to 'three crore' *devtas* (gods) and *devis* (goddesses) each of which was associated with some shrine, temple-site, hill, cave, river, tree, in fact, any gross form of nature was regarded as true religion. What is worse, the astrologer guided all mundane activities of the population from birth till death, which destroyed individual initiative and drive. Society was torn to its core; morality had practically reached the nadir. People passed their time in idleness, social frolics, party wranglings; and social chaos and official corruption were the order of the day.

The society was divided into castes. The castes originated from 'irrational and unpredictable phenomenon of birth'. The caste system disintegrated and degenerated Hindu society to the extent that it succumbed easily before Muslim culture and politics.

There were two distinct classes of society, the middle class and the masses. Those belonging to the first group, although numerically small, remained a very dominant element in society.

To this group belonged the nobles, priests, landlords and soldiers. The soldiery consisted of the locally raised troops and foreign mercenaries. The local troops consisted of a band of cowards and empty braggarts who would disperse even at the faintest rumour of an attack by a resolute foe. Murder by a few resolute ruffians in the

48. Cunningham, *Anc. Geo. Ind.*, p. 92
49. *Ain* (Jarrett), II, p. 354

royal palace was usually followed by a general stampede of guards, troops, courtiers and ministers. They formed only a fraction of the total strength of the army. But the Rajput mercenaries from Jammu, Punch, Bhimbar and Rajauri, on the other hand, were a brave, hardy people. They formed the cream of the state forces.

The nobility wasted their wealth in owning estates, in pulling down and erecting buildings and in purchasing horses. They were grossly selfish and undependable. They were notorious for disloyalty and faithlessness. The landlords and agriculturists were mainly Damaras and Lavanyas. They were a host of overweaning and turbulent people, ever ready to render government weak in order to seize power themselves and to spread disorder and chaos. They behaved like little tyrants, and acted as a heavy weight on the cultivators, official class and Brahman community.

The official class consisted mainly of Kayasthas. They held their offices direct from the ruler. They were exceedingly oppressive and grasping. Under a strong king they behaved like lions under the throne; under weak rulers, they acted as king-makers. They were mostly Brahmans. After their conversion to Islam they were designated as *karkuns*.

The Brahmans who did not take to government service were called *purohitas* (priests). Their other occupation was agriculture and trade. They were an influential community. Some of them were guardians of *tiraths* (shrines) and religious foundations which were centres of wealth. They were governed by their own *parisad* (corporation). Quite often they played a shameless role in the internal politics. Whenever they found their interests at stake, they usually resorted to hungerstrike and thereby coerced obedience of strong kings even. They were very arrogant although only superficially educated.

The masses were a multitude of ignorant and superstitious people. Those who were not agriculturists and did not pursue gainful occupations were a rabble of idlers and spectators. They usually lived in the towns, while a majority

of them lived in Srinagar. They remained conservative, sentimental and prone to give undue weight to rumours.

The agriculturists formed the bulk of the population. They were God's good people. They toiled hard, but enjoyed least the fruits of their labour. They were exploited by others. Poverty, ignorance and superstition were glaring features of their life.

2) *Under Independent Sultans* (1320-1586)

The early batch of Muslim sultans and missionaries did not feel any necessity to establish Islam by force. There were reasons for that. To start with, many traits of Islamic culture had penetrated into the every-day life of the population, and had gradually prepared the ground for the peaceful establishment of the Muslim sovereignty. The earliest impact of Muslim culture appears to have started along with the two invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni (1015 & 1021). Ksemendra used Arabic and Persian words and phrases, e.g., *dabir, sultan, ganj, shah, silah* and *surang*, etc. as early as the eleventh century in his monumental work, the *Lokaprakasa*. King Harsha (1089-1101) introduced Muslim articles of dress and luxury. He recruited Muslims in his army. He manifested great fondness for certain aspects of Muslim culture, and took delight in desecrating Hindu temples. In his relations with his sisters, father's sisters and nieces, etc., he dishonoured outright Manu's *Dharma Sastra*.

More than all these distant influences, the great pillars of Islam—unity of God, equality between man and man, and man and woman, and rejection of idolatry—had seized the heart of the socially and culturally impoverished masses. And their greatest sympathiser, saint and saviour, Laleshwari, preached these pillars of Islam in the Brahmanic way, during the latter half of the fourteenth century. She was a great reformer of the Brahmanic religion, and the Kashmiri off-shoot of the contemporary Hindu reformation movement which swayed through India. She had herself gone

through the book religion as taught by the theocratic *gurus*. She had herself performed penances, undergone physical mortifications, in fact, all the formalities prescribed by the book religion. But all this she found to be purposeless. Truth dawned upon her only from within. Thereafter, she revolted against sophisticated, traditional Brahmanism. She decried idolatry—worshipping stones, springs, rivers, trees, etc. On the other hand, she preached individual purity and sublimation, unity of God and brotherhood of man. She preached that by *yoga*, or self-discipline, an individual could raise himself from the lowest to the highest. She acquainted the people with the concept of Hindu religion and proclaimed the message of universal brotherhood. She preached in the language of the masses, and she was heard. Her sayings became popular. They are extant.

XII

REVOLUTION AND REACTION

Timur's invasion of India (1398), however, proved to be a calamity for Hindu Kashmir. It brought about a social and cultural revolution.

Timur never entered Kashmir nor invaded her. But his presence gave an opportunity to the Muslim missionaries and refugees from Central Asia and Persia who had entered Kashmir in order to escape from Timur's tyrannies as well as the devastating effects of the famine and drought which had ravaged their country. They behaved with the Kashmiris as Timur and Halaku Khan had behaved with them. They used Timur as the Trojan Horse to compel the desperately frightened boy Sultan Sikandar (1389-1413) to submit to their schemes. Their influence on his weaker son, Ali Shah (1413-20), was thorough. He succumbed to their ruthless methods for upsetting everything that was ancient and Hindu. Hindu religion and Hindu culture received a devastating blow. Ancient Hindu monuments were destroyed, defaced or turned into mosques. Hindu literature was burnt, buried or sunk in the Dull lake. Hindu Kashmir

experienced a cultural death. Then followed wholesale conversion of the Hindus.

But all this was on the surface. Fundamentally the effect was different. Coercion and forcible conversion gave birth to half-hearted and discontented converts. They differed very little from their ancestors. Outwardly they behaved like Muslims; internally they lived as Hindus.

Zain-ul-Abiden (1420-70) realised the disastrous effects of communal frenzy, when he found everywhere chaos and economic stagnation. He was realist, pragmatic. He realised that Kashmir could not flourish without the active cooperation of the Kashmiris, who were the real prducers of wealth. He revived Hindu religion, Hindu culture and Hindu civilisation. He is the only king of Kashmir who continues to be remembered with affection and awe as *'Badshah'*, or the 'Great Sultan'. The tradition of his golden age still lingers among the masses.

Zain-ul-Abiden's reign was, therefore, a challenge to the communalist Saiyids. And once they were recalled and rehabilitated by his grandson, Hasan Shah (1572-84), the mischief recommenced. In spite of their alleged descent from the Prophet, they were regarded as foreigners, and foreigners have always been treated with contempt by the Kashmiris. The result was revolt which was sponsored by indigenous Kashmiri leaders belonging to the Raina, Dar, Magre and Thakkur communities. In the war that ensued between the Saiyids and Kashmiris in 1484 the Saiyids were utterly defeated and routed.

Mir Shams-ud-din Iraqi (1484-1526)

Before long, however, the Kashmiris paid very dearly for their victory. Their visionless and grossly selfish leaders threw the country into chaos and confusion from 1484 to 1540. It was an era of gangsterism when kings were puppets and gods had slept. This period coincides with the movement of Shams-ud-din Iraqi.

Shams-ud-din Iraqi was a great patron of the Shias and

the founder of the Nurbakhshiya sect in Kashmir. He came to Kashmir in 1484 and found the conditions suitable for the spread of his mission. We have already discussed how he identified himself with the Kashmiri ministers Musa Raina (1505-14) and Kachi Chak (1514-26). He employed them as Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani had used the name and influence of Sultans Sikandar and Ali Shah, for the propagation of Islam. Their mad methods were identical. He established the Shia and Nurbakhshiya creeds by sheer brute force. What is more, he caused a schism among Kashmiri Muslims by creating lasting antagonism between the Sunnis and Shias. Their mutual relations became a long, sad story of bitterness, jealousy and quarrel. The Shias were at their best during the rule of the Chaks (1500-86). Some Shia Mughal and Pathan governors also helped them to redeem their position. Being a small minority they continued to be hard hit both officially and socially.

The Shuddhi Movement

When in the early decades of the fifteenth century Zain-ul-Abiden encouraged converted Hindus to abjure Islam and to return to their ancestral faith, he introduced *shuddhi* among the converted Hindus, although he himself remained a devout Musalman. With the example of Zain-ul-Abiden before him Pandit Kantha Bhat, a Brahman religious reformer and a contemporary of Shams-ud-din Iraqi, also made an attempt to reconvert the Hindus who had accepted Islam during the rule of Musa Raina and Kachi Chak. Before long, however, Kantha Bhat paid very dearly for his zeal. He and his followers were massacred, those who escaped were converted to Islam, and the movement came to a dead stop.

The causes responsible for the Brahman holocaust were both obvious and direct. Obviously, Kashmir was part of the general Muslim missionary movement of Asia during this period. Directly, it was caused by the fervid ideology of a missionary like Shams-ud-din Iraqi who would brook

nothing to destroy Hinduism lock, stock and barrel. And he accomplished, for the time being, what he aimed at, but in a huff. He remained totally ignorant of the latent forces of reaction in the country. They were simmering, not dead. And he risked a serious setback to indigenous culture. He ignored the will of the people, their acquiescence and support although some leaders supported his movement. And as soon as he disappeared from the scene, the Sunnis of Kashmir who were the majority community recollected their forces and refused to accept what he had accomplished. They acted drastically towards the Shias who had helped him. They killed his sons and destroyed his mausoleum at Zadibal. These developments, no doubt gruesome and tragic, show once more the intrinsic, unshakable and undaunted spirit of communal amity and concord of the Kashmiris.

By and large, the Hindus accepted Islam simply as security against perpetual harassment. The only people who did not were some very strong-minded Brahmans. Their number appears to have been quite large even at the time of Akbar.[50] Their great quality was accommodation and adaptability. Jahangir[51] states that Kashmiri Brahmans of his time could not be distinguished from Kashmiri Muslims although they studied Sanskrit and practised idolatry.

When all is said and done, it has to be admitted that Islam came to Kashmir as a great riddance. Gradually it restored the moral and social stamina of the people. They were regenerated by a new social order and a religion which is simple, intelligible and practical. Islam smashed the age-old divisive and disintegrating social forces. It stabilised, unified and integrated the fragmented society. The philosophy of Islam was, in the first instance, awakened in the mind of a few; they were the torch-bearers. Particularly, the role of the *Rishis* is remarkably unique.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 351; Qazi Nur Ullah Shustri, *op. cit.*, p. 52
51. *Tuzuk* (R&B), Vol. II, p. 150

Rishis

A very small minority to start with, the *Rishis* failed to offer opposition to the physical, political and cultural forces which attempted to crush them. But their adaptability and resilience of character helped them to preserve some elements of ancient spiritual being in the new set-up. Brahmanism was not entirely wiped out although it was rendered incapable of expansion. Some Brahmans who accepted Islam as an immunity against constant dread, danger and harassment made, during the period under review, a singular contribution to the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity, which is a marvel in history. It was the celebrated *Rishi* order founded by the most popular and beloved Kashmiri *Sufi*, Shaikh Nur-ud-din of Cherar-i-Shariff.

The *Rishis*, a community by themselves, wielded unbounded popularity and attachment. They were the Brahmans of Islam. To quote Abul Fazl, 'the most respectable class in this country is that of the *Rishis* who, notwithstanding their need of freedom from the bonds of tradition and custom, are true worshippers of God. They do not loosen the tongue of calumny against those not of their faith, nor beg nor importune. They employ themselves in planting fruit trees, and are generally source of benefit to the people. They abstain themselves from flesh meat and do not marry. There are about 2,000 of this class.'[52] According to Mutamid Khan they numbered ten thousand.[53]

To maintain the sanctity and traditions connected with the ancient Hindu temples, these apostles of communal amity and harmony (*itihad*) took possession of those ancient shrines which had escaped the hands of the iconoclasts. No wonder that we find many shrines today which are equally held in reverence by both Hindus and Muslims in Kashmir. A few of them are mentioned below.

52. *Ain, op. cit.*, Vol. II; p. 354, *Tuzuk, ibid.*, p. 149 and note; Lahori, *Badshahnama* (Bib. Ind.), Vol. II, p. 29

53. *Iqbalnama Jahangiri* (Bib. Ind.), p. 155

1) *Shrine of Kalisari*[54]

It was converted into the *khanqah* of Saiyid Ali Hamadani or the Shah-i-Hamadan mosque. To this day its custodians are exceptionally punctilious in cleaning and sweeping the floors, etc. of the spring situated within the *khanqah*. The Pandits, who were allotted a place outside the *khanqah* premises, continue to offer their worship to the goddess Kali to whom the spring was originally dedicated.

2) *Temple of Pravaresvara*[55]

It was converted into the *ziarat* of Baha-ud-din. Inside the premises there lies a small beautifully polished black stone pavilion which appears to have originally been a temple.

3) *Temple-Site of Bhimaswami-Ganesa*[56]

It is situated on the Hari Parbat hillock. It was converted into the *ziarat* of the great saint Makhdum Shaikh Hamza, popularly known as Makhdum Sahib. He was the founder of the Kubrawi sect in Kashmir.

4) *Temple of Ranaswamin*[57]

It was converted into the *ziarat* of Pir Haji Mumammad Sahib.

5) *Tomb of Zain-ul-Abiden's mother*[58]

This site was originally a Hindu temple.

6) *Ziarat of Madin Sahib*[59]

Originally it was a Hindu temple.

54. Newell, 'Kashmir Hermits', *JASB*, 1870, p. 255
55. *Rajat*, 111, 350 and Stein's note
56. *Ibid.*, 352 and note.
57. *Ibid.*, IV, 178 and note
58. Nicholl, *Arch. Survey of India Report*, 1906-7, p. 161; Marshall, *Note on Arch. Work in Kashmir*, 1908, pp. 34-35
59. Nicholl, *ibid.*, pp. 163-64; Marshall, *ibid.*

7) *Other Ziarats*

The *ziarat* of Siddamol (Sidda Surya Kantha, *guru* of Laleshwari) at Pampur and that of Shaikh Nur-ud-din Rishi at Cherar-i-Sharif, and others dedicated to the great Sufi saints, Dastagir Sahib, Batamalu Sahib, Rishi Sahib, and the shrine of Narishari (in Narpirasthan), which are all situated in Srinagar, were held in great veneration equally by the Muslims and Brahmans. It must be emphasised, in particular, that on the occasion of the *urs* of Batamalu Sahib, Shaikh Nur-ud-din Rishi and Rishi Sahib (of Habba Kadal, Srinagar) their Musalman venerators totally abstained from flesh meat.

XIII

CONDITIONS UNDER THE MUGHAL AND PATHAN RULERS

The annexation of Kashmir by Akbar in 1586 was the return of the golden age of Zain-ul-Abiden. Once more the Kashmiris enjoyed a period of toleration, prosperity and secular government after over a century. Once more Hindus and Muslims lived in perfect accord, amity and peace, under the benign rule of Akbar. It was to pay a tribute to their marvellous qualities of godliness, tolerance and amity that Abul Fazl is said to have inscribed the following famous lines[60] on a temple which was built here by order of Akbar:

'Ilahi ba har Khana ki me nigram juyai tu and
Wa ba har Zuban ki me shinvam goyai tu;
Kufr wa Islam dar rahat puyan
Wahdahu la shirik la goyan.'

Translation:

'God Almighty! Wherever I go I find seekers after Thee, and whatever I hear is in praise of Thee only. Both idolaters and Muslims tread Thine path alone, all uttering "God is one and without partner".'

60. See Blochmann's translation of *Ain-i-Akbari*, (Calcutta 1927), Intro. LIV and note

Strictly speaking, the religious attitude of the Kashmiris offers a paradox. Deeply spiritual, they were one of the most tolerant people in the world. They regarded faith in God as the very foundation of their being. At the same time, they continued to be one of the most superstitious people in the world. Their taboos had a stronger force than religious maxims. They did not possess that strict tenderness for the fundamentals of Islam—*namaz, zakat, roza* and *haj*, which are the glaring characteristics to be met with among non-Kashmiri Muslims. The maulavis failed to exorcise them, and in sheer disgust Aurangzeb[61] dubbed them *bepir* (vicious) and *be tamiz* (lacking discretion).

Not only in the valley but in the neighbouring hill-states also Hinduism and Islam continued to pursue unique principles of communal harmony and amity. The Muhammadanised Rajputs of the hill-states of Punch, Rajauri, Bhimbar and Jammu, remained Muslim in name only. An estimation of the extent of adaptability and fusion among the Hindus and Muslims of this region can be formed from the fact that as late as 1911,[62] they retained not only their old Hindu caste names, as was the case among the Muslims in the valley, but some Hindu customs and practices also. They pierced their ears and wore gold ear-rings. They put on the same dress and observed the same endogamous, exogamous and hypergamous rules in regard to marriages. They married children at a tender age and deprecated widow remarriage. They made offerings to *devis* and *devatas* and retained Hindu rituals of marriage and death. The hereditary family *purohita* was paid his customary dues. In Rajauri when a Muslim died his widow was put into the grave along with him as a *sati*. They also practised female infanticide and gave to and took girls from the Hindus.

Jahangir prohibited this practice. He writes: 'they ally themselves with Hindus, and both give and take girls. Taking

61. *Ruqqati Alamgiri and Kalimat-i-Aurangzeb* (Raza Library, Rampur Ms.), p. 9

62. *Census of India, Kashmir,* 1911, Vol. XX, pp. 103-4

them is good, but giving them God forbid.'[63] Shahjahan went much further. In India he ordered demolition of the newly built temples, and forbade Hindus to dress in the Muslim style, sell or drink wine openly or secretly, cremate the dead or burn *satis* near Muslim grave-yards, or purchase Muslim slaves.[64] Kashmir also experienced the effects of these prohibitions. For instance, Shahjahan ordered that temples in Anantnag and other places should be demolished. In his time the ancient name of Anantnag was changed into Islamabad.[65] The polished stones of these temples, Bernier[66] tells us, were carried to the Shalamar and other gardens for the construction of the pavilions.

The foregoing is the story of the genesis of communal intolerance in Kashmir. It reached its zenith under the Pathan rulers (1753-1819), when Kashmiri Pandits, who happened to be the only Hindus left, were further reduced to almost negligible number. They were tortured and tormented by rulers like Faqir Ullah Kanth (1767-68) and Amir Khan Jawansher (1772-76). The cruellest of the Pathan rulers, Mir Hazar Khan (1793), imposed the *jizya* on them and debarred them from studying Persian in order to disqualify them for state services and places of profit in future. To render them politically immobile he lynched their leaders, then put them in sacks and drowned them in the Dull lake.

As a result of the progressive extirpation of Hindu religion and culture during this period there started the historic exodus of some Pandit families to the Punjab, Delhi and Uttar Pradesh. Their children maintained their ancestral social and cultural traditions with admirable results. Some of them, for instance, Nehrus, Saprus, Kunzrus, Katjus, Bhans, Rainas, Kauls, Kaks, Dhars, Kitchlus, etc. rendered their names illustrious in all walks of life in India.

63. *Tuzuq* (R&B), Vol. II, p. 181; *Iqbalnama Jahangiri* (Bib. Ind.), p. 170

64. Lahori, *Badshahnama* (Bib. Ind.), Vol. I, p. 402; Saksena, *op. cit.*, p. 294

65. Muhammad Saleh Kumbu, *Amal-i-Saleh* (Bib. Ind.), Vol. II, p. 41

66. Bernier, *op. cit.*, p. 400

Many Muslim families also migrated to India during the regime of the Pathans to escape their tyrannical rule, starvation and the rigours of famines. Some of them preserved excellent specimens of their talents as artisans, craftsmen, scholars and statesmen. History has preserved the names of illustrious Kashmiris like Dr. Saif-ud-din Kitchlu, Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal and so many others who settled in Lahore, Delhi, Uttar Pradesh and even far off Bengal.

There is also bright side of the coin. During the administration of Akbar Kashmiri Pandits like Pandit Tota Ram acted as *peshkars* (revenue collectors), while the famous scholar Pandit Chandra Bhan acted as personal secretary to Prince Dara Shikoh. Some good and god-fearing Pathan rulers employed many Kashmiri Pandits as *peshkars, sahibkars,* and *dewans.* The author of the *Dabistan-al-Mazahab*[67] mentions names of Kashmiri Pandits like Gyani Raina, Sheo Raina, Pandit Sudarshan, Pandit Ganju, Pandit Jagan Nath, Pandit Shankar Bhat, Pandit Aftab Bhat, Srikanth Bhat, Mahatab Bhat, Ganesh Bhat, Sudarshan Kaul, Gopal Kaul, etc. They were contemporaries of Shahjahan and possessed great spiritual powers.

XIV

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Domestic Life

When we think of the domestic life of the people we are reminded of their social life. A Kashmiri, whether Muslim or Hindu, a townsman or a villager, is at his best in his home life, with his wife and family. His home is the hub of his life. It is above the church and above the state. It is the pivot round which the whole social system moves.

Position of Women

Under Hindu rulers women were relegated to a subordinate position. They could not inherit nor claim the right to

67. *Dabistan-al-Mazahab* (Bombay Edition). These names occur here and there in the text

property. They enjoyed economic and social life with their husbands; as widows they simply ceased to exist. Islam came as a good riddance for them particularly. It refreshed their life. It raised their status and prestige. It granted them equality with men. Married women claimed their right to property. Life-long economic repercussions of widowhood, suicides and *satis* ceased for ever. Islam did not force *purdah* in Kashmir. Only women belonging to the Saiyid, Naqashbandi and maulavi families observed it. The rest of them worked as farmers, green-grocers, shop-keepers and load-carriers.

Some of them stood out as cultured members of the society—in the fields of religion, literature and fine arts. Their handsomeness and physical charms remained unsullied. Of the beautiful damsels of Kashmir Marco Polo[68] and Sharaf-ud-din Yazdi[69] had heard quite a lot. They remained objects of attraction and possession during the Mughal and Pathan times. While paying his compliments to their physical beauty, Bernier writes: 'Nearly every individual when first admitted to the court of the *Great Mogol* selects wives and concubines (from Kashmir) so that his children may be whiter than the Indians and pass for genuine Mogols.'[70] The rot started from the top and a regular traffic in Kashmiri women came into vogue since 1586. They began to be treated as mere chattel. Even the blind Shah Alam's seraglio in Delhi had in 1794 'Cashmerian beauties who formed the principal ornaments of the palace'.[71]

Education and Marriage

The attitude of mind towards education among the population was basically secular. Education of children received particular attention. Both boys and girls were acquainted from tender age with the basic principles and

68. Bernier, *op. cit.*, p. 404 note 1
69. *Zafarnama* (Bib. Ind.), p. 178
70. Bernier, *op. cit.*, p. 404
71. Thomas Twining, *Travels in India*, p. 227

formalities of their religion by their parents. When they were entrusted to the care of the maulavi in the *maktab* or of the Pandit in the *pathshala*, the inauguration ceremony was done under picturesque rituals. While Muslim boys and girls were taught the *kalima* and the *namaz*, the Hindus were taught *sandhya* and *natinama*. Higher education too was imparted.

Both Hindus and Muslims favoured early marriage for boys and girls. Perhaps Akbar's marriage regulation, fixing the minimum age limit of 16 for boys and 14 for girls, was not honoured in Kashmir. On the whole, marriage of boys and girls was a family matter rather than choice of the couple. It was an imposition whose consequences often proved to be tragic. Laleshwari (14th century) and Habba Khatun (16th century) were married to idiots who were no match for their matchless talents and accomplishments. Their married life became disastrous.

The formalities observed for the consummation of marriage were common among the Hindus and Muslims. The Kashmiri Pandits also performed a sort of *nikka* (marriage contract) ceremony before the marriage was consummated. Some semblances of it are still in vogue, and they name this contract, *Lagana Chirika*.[72]

72. For the text of the *Lagana Chirika* (Marriage Contract) see *Appendix K*. Dr. Weber has given only a concise and unintelligible summary of it (Weber, *Lokaprakasa*, *Indische Studien*, Vol. XVIII, 1898, pp. 389-312). According to Dr. Stein, it is 'a curious form of marriage contract' (*Rajat*, (Stein), Vol. II, p. 317 *note*). Until quite recent times aged and conservative Pandits in the valley, who were the custodians of ancient traditions and culture, observed the custom. The parents of the couple entered into a formal marriage-contract before the marriage was consummated. They were contacted by the professional go-between who could be a Pandit or a Muslim, and the final settlement was effected by the respective *purohitas* of the contracting parties. The *purohita* of the bride came to the bride-groom's people with the *Lagana Chirika*. In it was recorded the number of dresses, ornaments, guests, etc. and the date and time when the marriage was to be solemnised. Then the marriage became a fact and in very rare cases was it revoked.

Death and After

The death of a wife was an ordinary affair, but the death of a husband had disastrous consequences for a Hindu widow. She could not inherit nor independently adopt. She simply ceased to exist. Muslim widows generally remarried; but the widows of noble families did not. Divorce, though permitted among the Muslims, was rarely resorted to and then also in exceptional circumstances.

What may surprise many is that Kashmiri Pandits are perhaps the only Hindus in India who are cremated by the Muslims. These cremators have been pursuing the profession from remote times. The Hindus had to pay 'cremation tax' to the independent sultans. It did not exist under the Mughals and the Pathans.

The Muslims are buried by their family *gorkans,* locally known as *'mallas'*. They perform the *chaharum,* i.e. the fourth, unlike Indian Muslims who observed the *siyum,* or the third day ceremony after death.

Sati

The cruel rite of the *sati,* (burning of Hindu widows with their husbands) was present in Kashmir from remote times. For the first time it was abolished by Sultan Sikandar (1389-1413). His son, Ali Shah (1413-20), continued the prohibition. Zain-ul-Abiden revived it. The custom, however, continued long in the neighbouring hill-states. We come across no case of widow-burning among Hindus in the valley proper during the rule of the Mughals and Pathans. But Aurangzeb on his return from Kashmir (1663) having noticed some cases of the *sati* in the lower hill states forthwith prohibited the custom.

Village Life

Kashmiri village is beautiful in spite of itself. It is rich in its natural surroundings. With a clear, rumbling or quietly flowing stream, a grove of trees and a refreshing

panorama, most of the villages in the valley are objects of great attraction. Village homes are mostly built of mud bricks set in wooden frames. They make the four walls which are covered with timber. The slanting roof thatched over with rice straw does not allow the snow to collect. Such huts have been the mansions of the peasantry who formed more than 90 per cent of the population. Generally they are two storeyed. The ground floor serves the purpose of a pen for sheep and cattle as well as a warm-room (*hamam*) for the family during the winter.

Looking at it from modern standard of life an average villager's worldly possession was almost valueless. A few earthen pots, a wooden pestle and mortar for husking *shali*, some earthen jars for storing rice and pulses, a few mats, a creel to carry load, and a woollen blanket to cover the body day and night was all that belonged to a mud-hut villager. But even with these bare necessaries of life the Kashmiri villager was perhaps the most contented person. Kashmiris did not use cots or bed-steads. In fact, they do not need them. Yet their Punjabi neighbours hurled ridicule[73] and sarcasm upon them. But their constant companion has been the famous portable brazier (*kangar*)[74] which

73. We have often heard the Punjabis addressing Kashmiris in sheer hate and disdain,

'Kashmiri be piri na manja na piri.'

(The spiritually misguided Kashmiri possesses neither a cot nor a stool)

74. Knowles, 'Kangar', *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, 1885, pp. 265-66; Hultzsch, 'Kangar', *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, 1886, p. 57; *Rajat* (Stein's trans.), V, 106, and note

That Kashmiris have had great attachment for the *kangar* (portable brazier) especially during the cold weather since time immemorial is apparent from the following adage:

'Aye Kangri! aye Kangri!
Qurban i tu hur o Pari
Chun dar bagal me girmat
Dard az dile man me bari!'

Translation: 'Oh! my kangar, my dear kangar! I sacrifice nymphs and fairies to you! When you are close to my bosom all my troubles flee away!'

they cannot afford to part with during the winter. The use of *kangar* evoked fantastic notions among visitors to Kashmir which manifest sheer ignorance of local conditions.

On the whole, social life in the villages remained stereotyped and immobile. The villagers were given no opportunity to alter their ancestral occupation of tilling, cultivating and rearing cattle. They continued to be treated like primitive serfs like their ancestors. They had no say in the administration, local or central, and nobody bothered about them. Yet they remained a happy, contented lot whenever they were spared by their ubiquitous bogy—early snowfall and heavy rains in spring and autumn.

On the other hand, the makers and changers of society were a very small but very influential community of officials—maulavis, Pandits and zamindars—who lived in the towns and in Srinagar. Their outlook and interests remained wholly urban. They treated the rural population with disdain. The villager, who was the mainstay of national economy, was ridiculed as *gama hakhur,* meaning village bull.

Life in Srinagar

Srinagar remained the hub of all life—social, cultural, economic and political. All movements originated from here. Kashmir was peaceful when Srinagar remained tranquil. When Srinagar sneezed all Kashmir caught cold. Srinagar ruled Kashmir.

The aesthetic sense and town-planning genius of the Kashmiris is manifest from the lay-out of the Srinagar city. Though the seat of government changed from time to time, the city, as a whole, remained unchanged. The early Muslim sultans mostly occupied the north-eastern quarter of the city. Shahab-ud-din laid out his capital around the south-western picturesque slopes of the Hari Parbat hillock. Zain-ul-Abiden, a born architect, appointed a town-planner to lay out his palace (*Rajadan*), his city, his gardens and his beautiful pavilions in the Dull lake and the Woolar lake. His

palace had twelve storeys some of which contained fifty rooms, halls and corridors. The whole of this lofty mansion was built of wood and was a wonderful structure.[75] It was known as 'Zain Dab'. It was built in 1464. Kashmiri damsels still sing songs which commemorate its majestic grandeur.

The houses in the city were generally lofty buildings. They were made of cedar, pine, fir wood and stone and mortar. Most of them had five storeys. Each storey had apartments, halls, galleries and towers. According to Mirza Haidar,[76] the beauty of their exterior defied description and caused much wonder. In Abul Fazl's time (1587), too, the city continued to be attractive. He records: 'Srinagar is a great city and has been long peopled. The river Behat (Jehlam) flows through it. Most of the houses are of wood, and some rise up to five storeys. On the roofs they plant tulips and other flowers, and in the spring these rival flower gardens.'[77] In the time of Jahangir and Shahjahan the conditions remained much the same. Jahangir writes: 'This custom (of planting tulip flowers on roofs of buildings) is peculiar to the people of Kashmir.'[78] According to Bernier most of the houses on the banks of river Jehlam had little gardens, which produced a very pretty effect, 'especially in the spring and summer, when many parties of pleasure take place on the water'.[79] In the interior of the city too most of the houses had flower and kitchen gardens. Houses on the banks of the Dull lake were connected by canals, on which the owners kept pleasure boats.

These first-hand notices are ample evidence to show that, generally speaking, the population in the city was happy, healthy, and prosperous. They seem to have develop-

75. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (E&R), pp. 425-29

76. *Ibid.*, p. 429

77. *Akbarnama* (Beveridge), III, p. 827-28

78. *Tuzuk* (R&B), Vol. II, pp. 144-45; *Iqbalnama Jahangiri, op. cit.*, p. 153; Lahori, *Badshahnama, op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 23; Qazwini, *Badshahnama* (Ms), f. 275b

79. Bernier, *op. cit.*, p. 398

ed fastidious tastes. They did not drink the water of the Jehlam river because it was found to be heavier and indigestible. Jahangir says that they used Dull lake water for drinking purposes. Yet he called them 'animal-like Kashmiris'. He adds, 'Although most of the houses are on the river bank, not a drop of water touches their bodies. They are as dirty outside as inside.'[80] Unfortunately, such statements have since gained currency. They only manifest sheer ignorance of local conditions. Perhaps Jahangir had not noticed the *shrana-kutts* (bathing-huts) on the Jehlam river and on the canals leading to the Dull lake. They have been there exclusively for bathing purposes. Like all Indian tourists to Kashmir, Jahangir does not seem to have experienced the rigours of Kashmir winters when for a person of average means it is not possible to have his own '*hamam*' (hot-bath), although hot-baths existed in the time of Kalhana (12th century). Even now large mosques and temples all over the valley have *hamams* attached to them for the use of the humbler members of the society. Then owing to the non-availability of cotton-cloth people used only woollen fabrics which are not washed as often as cotton garments.

To stimulate communication between people living on either side of the river Jehlam in the city and outside its limits, there used to be, from time immemorial, boat-bridges. Permanent bridges were quite unknown in the time of Sharaf-ud-din Yazdi. According to his information in 1398 thirty boat-bridges spanned the Jehlam river, and seven of them in the city alone.[81] The first permanent bridge of wood and stone which spanned the Jehlam in Srinagar was built in the time of Zain-ul-Abiden. It was called 'Zaina Kadal', to commemorate his name. His successors built Fateh Kadal, Ali Kadal and Habba Kadal. Jahangir and Abul Hamid Lahori mention four bridges, but Bernier mentions only two. According to Baron Hugel, in 1835 there were more bridges in Kashmir than in any other country in the world.

80. *Tuzuk* (R&B), Vol. I, p. 93
81. *Zafarnama* (Bib. Ind.), p. 179

They spanned every river and brook. They were built and kept in repair by the government.[82]

Dress

There was no uniformity in dress among the various social and religious groups of people. But the dress of the masses, on the whole, changed little. Under Hindu rule the males generally wore long loose tunics like the inhabitants of Tibet, Ladakh, Sikkim and Bhutan. They did not shave their heads, but covered their long loose hair with a piece of white cloth. Their tunic was made of woollen stuff (*pattu*), hemp or cotton. In the time of Hiuen Tsiang they wore leather jackets in winter as a protection against the blasts of cold, and the *kangar* remained their constant companion during the winter months. When engaged in hard out-door work or on long marches, they put on drawers which reached the knees, and they tied their waists and put on straw-shoes (*pulharus*). They used leggings of *pattu* while travelling. All these articles of dress are in use among the village population even today.

There was not much difference between the dress used by men and women. The women also used drawers but their legs generally remained bare. They also tied their waists with a girdle. They still come out like this when they have to do some hard out-door work. The Pandit ladies too put on a similar dress both inside and outside their homes.

Ornaments were used by the rich. Raja Harsha (1089-1101)[83] introduced short coats for the first time. He made his subjects shave their heads and cover them, perhaps in imitation of the Muslim style.

The mode and type of dress did not change much under the independent sultans. Shawl and silk-weaving industries, however, received thorough state encouragement in the reign of Zain-ul-Abiden. But rich people only used shawl

82. Hugel, *op. cit.*, p. 140

83. *Rajat* (Stein), VII, 921 sq

and silk clothes. The apparel of the masses continued to be made of rough woollen stuff. That was the experience of Abul Fazl (1587). He says that the apparel of the masses was generally a woollen coat (*phiran* or *pirahan*), which would last several years.[84] Jahangir also found the same stuff in use. He remarks sarcastically that 'in wearing the *pattu* tunic (*kurta*) they believe the air would affect them otherwise, and it would be impossible to digest their food without it'.[85] He seems to have forgotten that Kashmir had scarcity of cotton cloth but abundance of biting cold. In fact, a Kashmiri cannot digest his food without his *kangar* close to his stomach and his woollen cloak about him during severe winter months. The use of turbans (*dastars*) was introduced by the Muslims. Jahangir writes: 'Men shave their heads and put on a round turban, and the common people do not wear clean, washed clothes. They use a tunic of *pattu* which lasts for three or four years.'[86] It appears that drawers which had been used in Hindu times by men as well as women had subsequently been discarded by women because Jahangir tells us that they considered it 'wrong to wear drawers (*izar*); they wear the tunic long and ample as far as the head and falling down to the feet; and they also wear a belt'.[87] Aurangzeb was annoyed to see women moving about without drawers, when he visited Kashmir in 1663.[88] He directed Inayat Ullah Khan, the governor, to compel them to wear drawers to cover their naked legs. But while even Punjabi Hindu women invariably used the Muslim drawers (*izar* or *shalwar*), no woman in Kashmir, Hindu or Muslim, excluding the rich, adopted this style of dress until quite recent times. The only reason appears to have been scarcity of cotton-cloth and yarn. Taking all facts into consideration, some European writers[89] showed

84. *Ain* (Jarrett), Vol. II, p. 350
85. *Tuzuk* (R&B), Vol. II, p. 147; *Iqbalnama Jahangiri, op. cit.*, p. 153
86. *Tuzuk, ibid.*, p. 148
87. *Ibid.; Iqbalnama Jahangiri*, p. 154
88. *Ruqqat-i-Alamgiri* (Raza Library, Rampur), p. 132
89. Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 35; Newell, *JASB*(V), 1854, p. 433; Knowles, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, October 1885, p. 266

gross ignorance in holding the great Akbar responsible for introducing the effeminate dress (*phiran* or *pirahan*) and *kangar* (portable brazier) among the Kashmiris in order to immobilise them and to subdue their warlike spirit.

Even after the wholesale establishment of Islam, a Kashmiri, Hindu or Muslim, could not be distinguished in his time by Jahangir, because both of them used the same style of dress. The changes in dress, etc. which later on distinguished a Pandit from a Muslim were, in all likelihood, introduced since the reign of Shahjahan. Since the annexation of Kashmir by Akbar the Pandits had started to wear turbans and shoes and put on *tika* (religious mark) on their foreheads. But bigoted rulers did not tolerate it. In 1720, as stated already, Mullah Abdun Nabi Muhtavi Khan prohibited them from riding horses, wearing coats (*jama*), shoes, turbans and armour, going out in the fields and gardens, and bathing on certain days. The same was the official attitude towards them under the Pathan rule (1753-1819). The Pandits dressed and behaved like their Muslim brethren in order to avoid discrimination and physical torture.

Food

A country overflowing with fish, fowl, sheep and juicy fruits like grapes, pomegranates, apples, pears, etc. on the one hand, and cold but invigorating climate on the other has a natural tendency to develop tastes for drinking and eating rich food. This was perhaps the reason why *tantric* system remained in vogue in Kashmir, why Buddhism, Jainism and Vaishnavism never flourished, and why Kashmiri Buddhist monks married and ate meat.

Though rice is the staple food, even the poor man's meal in Srinagar consisted of ghee, milk, meat, vegetables, wine, pickles and vinegar. The well-to-do in Srinagar did not drink the river water. For drinking purposes they used the Dull lake water which is clean, light and digestible. According

to Jahangir,[90] they did not eat warm rice, but cooked it thoroughly till it absorbed all water, and then ate it cold. The labour classes—peasants, coolies and boatmen—still eat cold rice, because they find it vigorous and healthy. The only people who abstained from meat were the *Rishis*. Zain-ul-Abiden remained a strict vegetarian during the month of the *Ramazan,* and he prohibited cow slaughter. His successors revived it under the persuasion of the Saiyids. It is, however, an indisputable fact that indigenous Muslims have a natural repugnance for beef, and the Pandits for pork. This is yet another example of their communal accommodation, amity and respect for each other's sentiments.

Amusements and Recreation

Whenever people found relief from internal disorder, they exhibited extraordinary sense of repose and joy in their social activities. They took great interest in out-door amusements like wrestling, fishing, cock-fighting, ram-fighting, bird-catching, hawk-fighting, pigeon flying, horse-riding and archery. In Srinagar, Kamangarpura survives to this day as the place traditionally associated with the manufacture of bows and arrows. Fireworks were introduced by Zain-ul-Abiden, and *banduq khars* (gun-makers) of Rainawari (Srinagar) have been famous gun-makers and cutlers.

Jashn (convival party) was the most popular form of social entertainment among the nobility. Zain-ul-Abiden organised regular *jashns* in his lovely pavilions on the Zain-Lank (Woolar lake) and on the Sona Lank and Rupa Lank in the Dull lake. Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan also organised *jashns* on the *takht-i-rawans* (river-palaces) and in the charming Shalamar, Vernag and Achabal gardens. Even the poor had their own *jashns*. They held *banda pathrs* (indigenous theatrical shows) and drinking parties in the gardens and on boats. While the rich amused themselves with *chaupan*, chess, dice (*nard*) and cards (*ganjafa*) in their lighter moments, the poor disported themselves with

90. *Tuzuk* (R&B), Vol. I, p. 93

kowries and walnuts, and in singing in chorus (*wan-wun*) on *tumbaknaris* (Kashmiri *tablas*). But most interesting and, at the same time, educative feature of their indoor life consisted in reciting historical anecdotes connected with the lives and adventures of Laleshwari and Shaikh Nur-ud-din Rishi, folk-tales like the *Rustum Dastan* (Kashmiri version of the *Shahnama* of Firdausi), *Hemal-Nagari*, *Siva-Lagana*, and the epics *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*. They were composed and recited by men and women whose repertoire of stories and songs was very large. By this natural gift they were able to maintain a link between the past and the present.

Hindu Festivals

Though the Hindus were numerically very insignificant, nevertheless, some of their festivals were observed by their Muslim brethern also with great eclat. The festivals generally synchronised with the season of comparative leisure from out-door activities like tilling and harvesting. Most popular among Hindu festivals were the *Shivaratri, Vyath Truwah, Gadabatha, Khichri Amavas, Dussehra, Nagyatra* and *Ganachakra*. Zain-ul-Abiden observed the *Vyath Truwah* (birth-day of river Jehlam) festival along with the Hindus. On *Nagyatra* and *Ganachakra* festivals he fed the devotees with cream and curries, and also gave them quilts and money. Husain Shah Chak (1562-69) also participated in the Hindu festivals of *Navreh* (New Year Day) and *Basant Panchami*. Akbar celebrated the *Dewali* in Kashmir when the boats, the river banks and roofs of houses were illuminated with lamps all presenting a splendid appearance. Jahangir took keen interest in the celebration of the *Vyath Truwah* and *Dussehra* in Kashmir. About the celebration of *Vyath Truwah* he writes: 'On the night of Thursday, the 13th, the Kasmiris had lined with lamps both sides of the Bihat (Jehlam). It is an ancient custom that every year on this day every one, whether rich or poor, whoever has a house on the bank of the river, should light lamps as on

the *Shabb-i-Barat*. I asked the Brahmans the reason of this, and they said that on this day the fountain-head of the Jehlam (river) was discovered and the custom has come down from old days, that on this day must take place the feast of *Vyath Truwah*. *Vyath* means the Jehlam and they call thirteen *truwah*. Undoubtedly, the lamp lighting was good. I sat in a boat and went round to see it.'[91] About the *Dussehra*, he writes: 'It was an old custom in Kashmir when they decorated horses in the special stables and those of the amirs and paraded them.'[92] These notices are yet another proof of the fact that Kashmiri Muslims continued to honour the traditions and sentiments of their Hindu ancestors as late as the seventeenth century.

Muslim Festivals

Though Muslim life, as such, has little room for social festivals speaking from very orthodox point of view, the life of Kashmiri Muslims offers an exception. Their popular festivals are local. All along they have manifested great enthusiasm for festivals like the *Urs-i-Shah-i-Hamadan*, *Urs-i-Makhdum Sahib*, *Urs-i-Cherar-i-Sharif*, and *Ziarat-i-Hazratbal* (also called *Mehraj-i-Sharif*). They are very hilarious and exuberant on the occasion of the two *Ids*, but maintain austerity on the occasions of *Shabb-i-Barat*, *Muharram* and *Nauroz*.

Music and Singing

Tradition says that music was born in the south of India and died in the north. That may be the verdict on Kashmiri music. The Kashmiri traits for music and singing are wholly indigenous. There is hardly a house where a girl or a boy is not gifted with this fine art. Even some of their kings were born musicians and poets. Zain-ul-Abiden, a poet of no mean order, was a great lover of music and

91. *Tuzuk* (R&B), Vol. II, pp. 167-68
92. *Ibid.*, p. 176

generous towards the musicians. Many musicians and singers found their way to Kashmir from Arabia, Iran, Samarqand, Khurasan, Kabul and India in his time. In those days the *ud* and lute were the favoured musicial instruments of the rich and singing on *tumbaknaris* (Kashmiri *tablas*) was the pastime of the women generally.

Hasan Shah (1472-84) was both a composer and a poet. He had a special liking for Kashmiri songs. Yusuf Shah Chak (1579-86) was a great lover of nature, beauty and song. He loved both vocal and instrumental music. He married Habba Khatun, the most talented lady and a paragon of beauty, who rendered herself immortal by her songs. The Mughals and Pathans did not encourage music and singing perhaps because they were not familiar with Kashmiri or had no time for it.

Learning and Literature

The salubrious climate, fruits and flowers, peaceful atmosphere and picturesque scenery attracted scholars from abroad who devoted their talents to cultural pursuits. They settled in this country permanently or temporarily and enriched the fields of learning. Some of the most outstanding celebrities who adorned the cultural galaxy before the advent of Islam in this country were Abhinavagupta, Damodara Gupta, Soma Deva, Kalata, Mamata, Ksemendra and Kalhana. Each of them stands out like a gem in his branch of study and research.

The genius of the Kashmiris in the fields of learning and literature continued to flower after the establishment of the Muslim rule. Both Hindus and Muslims applied themselves with unabated devotion and assiduity to the study of various branches of learning and contributed a large share to knowledge. During the period under review we come across a galaxy of scholars and saints who made valuable contributions in the fields of theology, medicine, Sufism, history, etc.

XV

LANGUAGE

The manner or style of expression, commonly called language, is a unique possession of man. It is the distinguishing mark of his humaneness. It is his culture. His socialisation as a human being is made possible by the language that he learns and that is talked to him. Considering these aspects the language of the Kashmiris is their proud possession like other aspects of their natural environment. Kashmiri language is a branch of the Dardic family of languages which includes Shina and Kohistani groups. The earliest specimen of spoken Kashmiri we come across in the *Rajatarangini*[93] of Kalhana. After the establishment of Islam, the *Vakyas* (Sayings) of Laleshwari and Shaikh Nur-ud-din are extant specimens of the language as it was spoken in the 15th century. The sayings of Laleshwari are a jargon of Kashmiri, Sanskrit, Persian and Pahari words and phrases. The same may be said of the sayings of Shaikh Nur-ud-din. The two saints uttered their sayings in the current vernacular which had by their time incorporated Persian, Sanskrit and Pahari words and phrases. In 1835, Vigne[94] noticed that in a group of hundred spoken Kashmiri words, 25 were Sanskrit, 40 Persian, 15 Hindustani, 10 Arabic and 10 Tibetan. That shows the various phases of cultural development Kashmir had passed through in a period of 650 years from the time of Kalhana to that of Vigne.

Unfortunately, Kashmiri was not developed as a written language. It was not patronised by the Hindu or Muslim literati till 1948. For their writings the Hindus used Sanskrit in *Sarda* script and Persian, and Muslims used Persian during five centuries of Muslim rule. But the sayings of Lal Dad and Shaikh Nur-ud-din were not written on paper originally. Nonetheless, they continued to remain unaltered on

93. *Rajat* (Stein), V, pp. 397-98
94. Vigne, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 368

the 'fleshy tablets of the Kashmiris'. The famous human phonographic machines of Kashmir handed them to posterity, *verbatim, literatim, et punctatim.* According to Dr. Grierson,[95] 'the fleshy tablets of the Kashmiris are often more trustworthy than birch bark or paper manuscripts'.

Under Hindu rulers, the official language was Sanskrit. For a long period after the establishment of the Muslim rule Sanskrit seems to have continued in official use side by side with Persian, which was the court language of the Muslim rulers. The following extant documents support this view.

(I) Bilingual inscription[96] (dated 1484) on the tomb of Said Hasan in the cemetery of Baha-ud-din Sahib in Srinagar.

This inscription is both in Sanskrit (*Sarda* characters) and Persian. It was put up in 1484 on the tomb of Said Hasan, a prominent Saiyid leader, in the civil war between the Saiyids and Kashmiris in 1484 in Srinagar.

(II) *Wasiyyat Nama*[97] (Succession Deed) of Makhdum Shaikh Hamza, popularly known as Makhdum Sahib (dated 1576).

It is perhaps the earliest available bilingual document written on a birch bark sheet, 22 × 14 inches. The Sanskrit (in *Sarda* characters) and Persian versions face each other. This document is more than 390 years old and has suffered considerably due to careless preservation. Unfortunately, the writing in Sanskrit has got so much worn-out and disfigured that it cannot be deciphered completely. Fortunately, however, that is not the case with the writing in Persian. It is preserved in the Government Museum, Srinagar.

(III) Sale Deed[98] of a Kashmiri *Mahabharata* (dated 1682).

Two brothers Pandit Lalla and Pandit Surya Kanth,

95. *Lalla Vakyani* (Grierson and Barnett edition), Intro., p. 3
96. *Indian Antiquary,* Vol. XX, p. 153; *ZDMC,* Vol. XI, p. 9
97. See *Appendix-H*
98. Stein, 'Sanskrit Deed of Sale', *JRAS,* 1900, pp. 187-94

residents of Mohalla Diddamar, Srinagar, sold in 1682 two manuscripts of the *Mahabharata* to Pandit Anand Razdan, also a resident of Srinagar, for 45,000 *dinars* (225 *tankas*). This sale deed is also written in Sanskrit (*Sarda* characters) as well as in Persian. It is dated 4756 (*Laukika*) and 1093 *Hijri*, corresponding to 10 July 1682. Apart from being bilingual this document acquaints us with the form in which sale deeds were written in Sanskrit and Persian in the seventeenth century in Kashmir.

XVI

CONCLUSION

The foregoing narrative is the essential prelude to a proper understanding of the conditions of life and the relations between the rulers and the people. We shall conclude the narrative with a few words on the main trends of this relationship.

During the whole span of Muslim rule Kashmir experienced two types of rulers—the indigenous and the foreign. While both groups followed the same faith and practised the same culture, their approach as rulers differed fundamentally. The indigenous government was conducted by independent sultans (1320-1586). With one exception—the interlude of Mirza Haidar Dughlat (1540-50)—they regarded Kashmir as their home as the Turks and Mughals considered India. Once Islam was established the sultans administered the country with the assistance of the bureaucracy whose milieu was local. They suffered from all vices of medieval rulers, but their sentiments and attitudes remained thoroughly local. They identified themselves with the country and stood together against foreign aggression although in their relations among themselves as usual jealousy and rivalry continued to predominate. The civil wars which they waged remained confined mostly to Srinagar, while the population in the suburbs eked their existence like their ancestors. The Hindu *Kuttarajas* accepted Islam and in the new set-up

acted as leading zamindars and guided the political destinies of the martial communities of the Dars, Magres and Chaks, like the Damara and Lavanya leaders in the past. The feudal order of society continued unchanged.

On the annexation of Kashmir to the Mughal India of the great Akbar in 1586 a totally new pattern of society and administration supplanted the indigenous. The Mughal and later on the Pathan impact on the country did not, to start with, operate in a peaceful manner. Both established their rule after waging ferocious and bloody wars. These wars had a profound psychological effect on the future relation between the rulers and the ruled. The concept of the conquerors was wholly medieval. At bottom they suffered from the baneful complexes of superiority and contempt for the conquered. They behaved as aliens, and whatever they attempted to do was to the detriment of the subject people. They disrupted every indigenous department of life—administrative, social and economic. The indigenous nobility and zamindars were dispossessed of their estates and the soldiery was disbanded. The masses were exploited, enslaved and treated as goods and chattel. Then they shirked their duties as rulers and refused to remedy even just grievances of their subjects. It remained to be the basic cause of tension between the two parties, the rulers and the ruled. Amity, harmony and accommodation between them was a far cry, and the subject people entertained feelings of resentment, anger and hate, and increasing longing for redemption.

To add insult to injury, the Mughal imperialists began to misrepresent the character of the Kashmiris. For example, in 1533 when the Mughal followers of Mirza Haidar Dughlat failed to subdue them finally, they called them 'besotted band of infidels'. When the great imperialist Akbar failed in his first attempts to reduce Kashmir fully and completely the Kashmiris became an anathema and fit for destruction. His sychophants bundled them with the cruel and stubborn Afghans and Kumbus who had caused much annoyance to him. They denigrated them as

bad zat[99] (base born). Even the otherwise impeccable Abul Fazl[100] had to toe the line when he stated that craftiness and wickedness were indispensable to the Kashmiris. On the other hand, Jahangir[101] who watched them closely during his several visits to Kashmir appears to have simply scoffed at their hygienic faults—uncleanliness of body and dress. Aurangzeb,[102] who looked at things from purely puritanic angle, maligned them as *bepir* (irreligious) and *be tamiz* (injudicious). The Mughal and Pathan rule had demoralised them to such an extent that in 1835 Baron von Hugel found them—once a gifted race—a 'timid' people.[103]

Gradual loss of power and prestige by the middle classes and increasing rack-renting of the agriculturists had reduced them to a state of utter servitude and nakedness. Moorcroft who visited Kashmir in 1819-20, that is hardly a year after the overthrow of the Pathans, gives an eye-witness account of their wretched condition. He writes: 'Everywhere the people are in the most abject condition. Not more than about one-sixteenth of the cultivable surface is in cultivation, and the inhabitants, starving at home, are driven in great numbers to the plains of Hindustan. The cultivators are in a condition of extreme wretchedness (due mainly to the system of farming, the revenue collection and oppression of government) ... the beauty of the scenery ill-harmonised with the appearance of the peasantry. Their huts were inferior in comfort to an English cow-house, and their clothes were insufficient to defend them from the cold of the season.'[104]

Ultimately the tyrannical and cruel Pathan governors who followed the unscrupulous later-Mughal governors, like King Stork following King Log, served the example of

99. See Chapter IX, footnote 149
100. *Akbarnama* (Beveridge), Vol. III, pp. 465, 877, etc.
101. *Tuzuk* (R&B), II, p. 148
102. *Ruqqat-i Alamgiri, op. cit.*
103. *Travels* (Jervis), p. 135
104. Moorcroft, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 126-28

the proverbial last straw on the donkey's back. Soon, however, the frigid attitude of the Kashmiris was warmed up. Simmering discontent and half-hearted acquiescence was transformed into formidable opposition. And the overthrow of the Pathan rule, like the displacement of the rule of the later-Mughals, became a foregone conclusion after the increasing expansion of the Sikh power of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in the Punjab and the adjoining states. The natural leaders of opposition in Kashmir found an opportunity for deliverance. They seized it simply under the impression that an unknown conqueror is better than a known one. Accordingly, Pandit Birbal Dhar, who happened to be the most hardhit and, at the same time, the most daring Pandit leader, approached Maharaja Ranjit Singh with the appeal to rid Kashmir of the turbulent Pathans. The appeal was accepted and Maharaja Ranjit Singh overthrew the Pathan rule in 1819.

The revolt against the Pathan rule was actuated, to all intents and purposes, by pure self-interest. It was motivated by patriotic sentiments, and consideration of the immediate gain—a good riddance from the Pathan bogy and tyranny—was uppermost. Nothing like religious affinity with the Pathans dissuaded the Kashmiris from effecting their overthrow.

What happened was indeed a revolution, both culturally and politically. All the same, it was Hindu-Muslim cooperation which enabled Maharaja Ranjit Singh to establish his rule. It is therefore the duty of the historian to trace in retrospect the cultural and political trends that operated in Kashmir before 1586.

To start with, it has to be admitted that the induction of Islam blew away the cobwebs of superstition and polytheism. Its lasting service consists in building up the strength and character of the people as a separate entity. They began to gather moral and material strength by following the main Islamic principles, i.e., brotherhood of man, equality between man and woman, and unity of God. Islam

refined their tastes and manners and gave a higher and nobler tone to their moral, social and material thought.

Kashmir accepted the spirit and philosophy of Islam without demur. In fact, when Lal Dad preached the gospel of unity in diversity and the philosophy of universal brotherhood, she handed on the torch to Shaikh Nur-ud-din Rishi. It is the essence of his philosophy, the equilibrium between spirit and matter, between God and man, and between man and man, that became the main thesis of the famous *Rishi* order which he founded. Its outcome was the transcendental, inimitable and unique composite culture whose paeans Abul Fazl sang while laying the foundation of the temple of all faiths in Srinagar in about 1587. For 360 years the noble Kashmiri saints and intellectuals carried on the torch against gravest provocations of some fiendish Mughal and Pathan governors, so much so that in 1947 when Mahatma Gandhi paid his first and last visit to Kashmir he found the torch burning.

The Muslim ruled both as a preacher and a soldier. Officially and culturally he ruled to consolidate the fragmented society. The permanent basis of the state continued to be, as in the past, the personal power of the sultan. When, however, Saiyid Mirak Hasan Baihaqi (1484-87), the holy priest of Islam, dishonoured his plighted word and proclaimed the seven-year-old Muhammad Shah sultan with himself as the regent, he set forth certain revolutionary political principles. For instance, he established that the will of a dead sultan could be set aside, and that the power which tradition had vested in the sultan could be snatched through intrigue supported by force. Incidentally, he bequeathed all the vices and virtues of political gangsterism to the Kashmiri leaders, with the result that in the ensuing welter of political chaos (1506-86) there was no political ferment. There was no creative thinking. No attention was paid to national and social regeneration and economic betterment. In short, public spirit was dead as a doornail.

At the same time what focuses our attention is the

serious sectarian and communal disturbances engineered by some foreign fanatical missionaries who easily duped the population and topsyturvied the social order. But one thing that maintained and stimulated their basic character and morale was the spirit behind *Maaj Kashir* (Mother Kashmir). It expressed itself in seeking external help to resolve internal chaos. The reports of Akbar's India of peace, prosperity and communal concord caught the imagination of some very sincere and progressive intellectuals. They approached the great Akbar and Kashmir became a Mughal province. The change of masters extirpated internal chaos and after ages gave the individual assurance of personal security.

Nonetheless, the Mughal gardens, the Hari Parbat wall and the Hari Parbat fort represented the psychosis of conquest, i.e., the methods of the exploitation of the defeated and helpless multitudes of this fair and splendid country, the Eden of Asia. The Mughals and Pathans tinkered with the problems of social welfare and natural calamities—droughts, famines, poverty and disease. Their greater fault lay in the fact that they did not try to identify themselves with the customs, manners, traditions and sentiments of the people. They introduced the venom of apartheid and made the Kashmiris feel that socially, economically and officially they were inferior. It tipped the balance between the continuation of the Mughal-Pathan tyrannical entente and establishment of the Sikh rule.

The names and colossal political roles of Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi and Pandit Birbal Dhar, therefore, acted like ignition to the frigid heart of the Kashmiris. Memories of their adventures carry us to a past, to the great revolutionary events of 1586 and 1819, which are associated with them. Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi (1586) passed on the torch to Pandit Birbal Dhar (1819) after some 233 years, and the latter to the brave and fearless Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah (1947), after 128 years. Each leader in his turn confidently believed that he was not only to save Kashmir but to see her flourish. Values and approach might have changed in be-

tween their times but the inherent psychology and spirit of the people have not. Kashmiri problem fundamentally lies in its geographical complexities, strategical position and inadequate material and economic resources. After all, her splendid natural position and invigorating climate only cannot support, expand and stimulate the life of the masses nor provide rice bowls to empty stomachs. If water chokes what can one drink to stop choking!

Appendixes

APPENDIX A: Haidar Malik on Origin of Kashmir

Haidar Malik Chadura Writes (1617 A.D.)

نام کشمیر در اول ستی سر بوده ـ وجه تسمیه اینکه پاربتی زن مهادیو از کوه هیماچل
پیدا شده است و ستی نام دارد ـ و سر حوض بزرگ را میگویند ـ که زمین شهر کشمیر
حوضی بوده که محل بیرون رفتن آب نداشته و درمیان این کوه‌ها جمع میشد ـ و پاربتی
در آن میبود ـ بدین جهت او را ستی سر یعنی حوض پاربتی میگفتند ـ و درمیان آب این حوض
جلدبهو نام دیوی هولناک و خونریز مسکن داشته هم چنانکه محل حیوانات است، از آب بیرون
آمده مردم اطراف و جوانب را آزار میرسانید ـ تا شش منونتر این دیو در آن آب میبود ـ
(منونتر عبارت است از هفتاد و یک دوره از چهار جگ که نزد اهل هنود مشهور است و
تفصیل شمار مدت هر جگ در کتاب ایشان مذکور است) ـ و این دیو را برهما دعا کرده بود
که تا در آب باشد هلاک نشود ـ و کسی بر او غالب نتوان آمد ـ در ابتدای هفتم
منونتر کشف نام عابدی پسر نبیرهٔ برهما و نتیجه بزیارت عابد [illegible] نزدیک مهیر نام
که کوهیست رفت، و آن ولایت را خراب یافت، و سبب آن از مردم اطراف پرسید ـ
بجواب گفتند که جلدبهو نام دیوی مردم خوار مردم را بقتل آورده باز بمیان آب در می‌آید ـ
دل کشف بر آن مردم بدرد آمد ـ پس هزار سال در موضع نوبندن که نزدیک هیره پور است
عبادت میکرد و مهادیو را از کثرت عبادت و ریاضت بر او رحم آمده سبب آن
عبادت از او پرسید ـ گفت میخواهم که جلدبهو این مقام دفع شود ـ مهادیو بشن
و برهما را بدفع او فرستاد ـ برهما تا صد سال جنگ میکرد ـ کاری نساخت ـ از جهت آنکه
او در آب میگریخت ـ آخر بشن در حوالی بارهموله آمده آن کوه را که سد راه آب
بود به شدرشن چکر نام سلاح خود بریده آب را بدر رفتن پیدا کرد و زمین مسطح پیدا
شد ـ و بشن جلدبهو را بعد از بدر رفتن آب بقتل آورد و کشف میر نام زمین کشمیر
گشت ـ پس کشف برهمنان را از اطراف هندوستان آورده در آن مقام آبادان ساخت

(Extract from ~~[illegible]~~ Haidar Malik's Tarikhi Kashmir — Kashmir Research Department Manuscript)

APPENDIX B: *Baharistan-i-Shahi* on Origin of Kashmir

B

Appendix B

The anonymous author of the Baharistan-i-Shahi writes as follows:

مورخان اخبار سلاطین ممالک کشمیر که از جمله حالات و واقعات
ملوک و احکام و احوال اشراف انام را به قلم کشمیری نوشته اند، در
دفاتر اخبار و صحایف آثار چنین ثابت نموده که در کشمیر در زمان قدیم
۲۲۰۰ آب در زمین متولی بود تا دو هزار و دویست سال که آن [تالاب] را
کشپ سر میگفتند - و در همسایگی آن کشپ سر مرد زاهد بود از اهل هند -
[چون به آن طرف] گشت و زمین خشک را جهت عبادت و بود خود [پسند کرد] -
پس حق تعالی یکی از فرشتگان فرستاد و آن آب خشک شد - و آن
زمین را به کشپ سر نام کرده اند - - - - بعد از آن [آن] زمین به گلها
و زراعت بسیار گشت و از طرف سبز جمع کثیر آمده خانها گرفتند و این
زمین را کشیر نام نهادند -

[Extract from Baharistan-i Shahi (manuscript), India Office Library, London]

APPENDIX C

Conversion of Rinchan to Islam

According to Abul Fazl Rinchan adopted the religion of Shah Mir through intimacy and association with him (*Ain*, Jarrett, II, 386).

According to the Persian chroniclers of Kashmir Rinchan Shah, finding himself confronted with the problem as to which religion he should follow in Kashmir, left the decision to chance. So one morning his eyes fell on Bulbul Shah when the latter was saying his prayers (*nimaz*). Admiring his way of devotion, he decided on Islam (*Baharistan* (Ms.), ff. 13a, 13b; *Tarikh-i-Haidar Malik* (Ms.), p. 24; *Tarikh-i-Azam* (Ms.), 24, 25; *Tarikh-i-Hasan* (Ms.), II, p. 255; *Tarikh-i-Narayan Kaul* (Ms.); *Tarikh-i-Birbal Kachru* (Ms.); Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 190).

Jonaraja, our earliest available authority, has not described this event. That should not, however, lead us to draw any negative conclusions, taking into consideration the following facts mentioned by him according to which Rinchan's conversion to Islam appears to have been known to him. Says Jonaraja—(1) When the king (Rinchan) entreated the illustrious *Devaswami* to initiate him into Saivism, he was not admitted, because as a *Bhautta* he was not deemed a proper recipient. (2) The illustrious Suratrana (Sultan) Rinchan gave rest to the country in the lofty windows of his arms (Jonaraja, Calcutta text, p. 206). (3) Pleased with Shah Mir who had taken no part in the treason, the king (Rinchan) entrusted him with the upbringing of his son Haidar (*Ibid*, 247). (4) Vyala could undo the deeds of the king, but not the latter of Vyala... (*Ibid*, 225-28).

Rinchan became king of Kashmir when he was a *Bhautta*, a non-Muslim. Evidently, he embraced Islam after he become king, when his request for consideration as a Brahman was thwarted by the Brahman head (*guru*) *Devaswami*. The Vyala Raja of the Jonaraja is admittedly Bulbul Shah

of the Muslim chroniclers, at whose hands Rinchan accepted Islam. This fact is also supported by the extant Ladakhi 'Song of the Bodro Masjid'. According to Dr. Francke, the great saint Bulbul Shah was King Rinchan's friend (Francke, *Ind. Ant.*, 1909, pp. 57-58).

About Bulbul Shah the Persian chroniclers of Kashmir state that he belonged to the Suhrawardy order, that his real name was Saiyid Ashraf-ud-din and the appellation 'Bulbul' was bestowed upon him for his spiritual powers, that he came to Kashmir in 725 A.H. (1325 A.D.) and at his hands Rinchan accepted Islam, and that he died in 727 A.H. (1327 A.D.) and lies buried in Bulbul Lankar, a quarter in Srinagar, where his tomb and the mosque where he used to offer his prayers are extant (Daud Mishkati, *Asrar-ul-Abrar* (Ms.); *Khazinat-ul-Asfiya*, p. 932; *Tarikh-i-Kabir*, p. 7).

APPENDIX D: *Waqf-nama* of Khanqah Maulla



(۱)

نقل مطابق اصل - وقف نامه حضرت خانقاه معلی - بمهر و دستخط حضرت میر سید محمد همدانی
قدس سنا الله تعالی السره الاقدس

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

الحمد لله الذی وفق علی عباده الصالحین والصلوٰة والسلام
علی سید المرسلین وعلی آله واصحابه الطیبین.

فقیر الحقیر کثیر التقصیر والتوانی محمد ابن میر سید علی الهمدانی رضی الله تعالی عنه
همی گوید که چون والد بزرگوار حضرت ظلام زنگ کفر و شرک را بصیقل هدایت و ارشاد
از دل سکان خطهٔ کشمیر زدوده و این ملک را بجنت نظیر مخاطب ساخت و
اهالی و موالی و ارکان دولت و اکابر و اصاغر آن دیار را بشرف اسلام مشرف
ساخته باعانت و یاری بادشاه سعادت یار سلطان قطب الدین انار الله
برهانه در موضع علاء الدین پوره رباط خود را ویران نموده طرح بنای خانقاه معلی کرده
سلطان مذکور از راه هویت اخلاص هر صبح و شام برای جماعت خمسه اوقات و جمعه
از موضع قطب الدین پوره در بقعهٔ لطیف و منزل شریف حاضر می بود - مقدار
سیصد و هشت ۳۰۸ درعه طولاً درمیان دو پاره پل و یکصد و بیست ۱۲۰ درعه عرضاً از حد دریای
بهت تا بازار برای فضا در وسعت خانقاه معلی وقف کرده شد و سوای آن طرف شرقی
مقدار همین سیصد و هشت ۳۰۸ در طول و یکصد و ده ۱۱۰ درعه در عرض برای جمعیت مردم و ستور
و دواب گذاشته شد - چنانچه تا رسیدن این فقیر قلیل البضاعت بی احاطه دیوار بود.
چون این فقیر با جمعی از سادات در بلدهٔ کشمیر در وقت حکومت بادشاه دین پناه
سلطان سکندر شاه ابن سلطان قطب الدین شاه خلد الله ملکه حسب الخواهش والالتماس
سلطان مذکور این داعی مسلمین را حواشی خدمه آن سجاده تمد با اعزاز و تکریم بدان

بقعه رسانیده اند. سلطان امارت مآب بر صفه که والد بزرگوار حسب الفرموده
جد عالی مقدار بنا نموده بود خانقاه قدیم ساخته برای آن وقف خاص کرد. موضع وچی
از پرگنه شاوره و قریه لونه ولی از پرگنه نارنند و قصبه ترال از پرگنه اولر تا متکفان
و مجاوران خانقاه محظوظ و محفوظ شوند. و جمیع صلاح و ورع اقدام نمایند.
و فقرا و مساکین صالح و اتقیا و صدیقین فایح از ثمره این شجره محمود باشند.
و منزویان زاویه آن بقعه بحضور لی مع الله وقت موصوف باشند. تا بفراغ بال
و حضور حال باوراد و وظائف حضرت والد بزرگوار مشتغل توانند بود و در ازمنه
صالحه بادعیه فاتحه پادشاه شهید مشغول توانند شد. و جمیع بقعه مذکور و
جمیع قریات مذکوره متولی گردانیده شد برادر ارشد امجد اشرف
مولانا محمد سعید اطال الله عمره تا درین بقعه متصرف باشد و از احوال و اعمال
ساکنان و مسافران باخبر باشد و بزرگان را خادم و کمتران را برادر
و یتیمان را پدر باشد. و نفع جمیع دهات را ناظر و حافظ و ناصر و مشخص باشد
و اوراد و وظائف را بجا آورده باشد. باوجود استعداد بوقت فرصت
طلب مراد را باز نماند و زمام اهتمام بدست تصاریف امور خانیه مکدر و مشغول نخواهد
نهد تا از زمره مردودان و مطرودان منحوس نگردد که مهروب را مطلوب پنداشته
و مطلوب را مهروب انگاشته و حق را به مستحق معروف نه رساند. و از وقفیات
مذکورین هر سال موازی هزار در دولت خروار شالی و ده هزار جیتل بوجه خرج خود بگیرد.
و باقی آنچه نوشته شده است در طومار و فرمان سلاطین آن جزئیات را عمل کند و در صلاح

وقفاء متمکنان خانقاه نیک مشغول باشد. تا اگر از درویشے (نعوذ بالله) ذلتی واقع شود آن را یک بار و دو بار عفو کند و اگر بسیوم کرت از وآن چنان بیند او را منع و زجر کند بلکه او را از خانقاه اخراج کند۔ و طعام دو وقته هر روزے برائے فقراءِ جوار و ساکنان خانقاه میسر دارد۔ و در میان خواجه و گدا و امیر و وزیر و صغیر و کبیر و خورد و بزرگ تسویه رعایت کند۔ نه آنکه در پیش بزرگان اکثر و الطف طعام گذارد و نزد خوردان اقل و اسک طعام بدهد۔ و برهنگان را بپوشاند و گرسنه گان را سیر گرداند۔ تا عند الله ماخوذ نه باشد۔ و از برائے نمک مطبخ خانقاه دو صد مرد لوانی نیز وقف کرده. آن هم در تصرف مولانا باشد و در سلک تفحص و تفریق باشد۔ و ملک دیوی گنائی را ناظر احوال و مشرف احوال و اقوال مولانا سعید گردانیدم تا در جزئیات امور اوقاف حافظ و ناظر باشد تا اگر تیره روزگارے از عمائے حرص و حسد درین اوقاف طمع کند و ~~اهل~~ دست زور و زیادتی دراز کند خدمت ملک دیوی گنائی او را از آن کار باز دارد۔ و اگر مولانا سعید حق به حق نه رساند و اهمال دارد او را نصیحت کند خلاءً و ملاءً تا او را از آن اهمال منزجر گردد۔

پس غرض ازین مقدمات و مقصود ازین عبارات و اشارات آن ست که دانسته شد که دنیا و لذت دنیا همه سر بسر باد ست و مطلب اصلی و غرض حقیقی آن ست که حاصل نمی شود مگر بخیر کلی و خیر کلی آن ست که جمیع جزئیات خیر را کسے

خرابات کند پس یکی از همه خیرات اوقاف است که سبب نظام اسلام و اهل اسلام است و واسطهٔ داشت جان های فقرا و ایتام است. فلا جرم عدم تعرض باوقاف از جمله مهمات ملک و عمال ست که رعایت بهترین اعمال است. پس این وصیت بزمرهٔ جملهٔ اهل اسلام است که آن چه درین وقفنامه نوشته شده است بران موجب عمل کنند. و در محصول اوقاف این خانقاه همدانیه دست ظلم دراز نه کنند. و آن چه مکتوب و مسطور ست درین توقیع آن را التغیر و تبدیل روا ندارند و آیهٔ شریفه فمن بدله بعد ما سمعه فانما اثمه علی الذین یبدلونه را نصب العین دانسته این خیر جاری به سد هوای شیطانی و وساوس نفسانی محکم نه گردانند که وسیعلم الذین ای منقلب ینقلبون به پیش نظر بینند که گرفتن خیر قلیل موجب شر کثیر است. خصوصا خیری که آن کثیر بود چگونه بود و بدانند که خراب کردن اوقاف نه خیریت دنیا و دین است. و از تصرف و تعرض باوقاف خانقاه همدانیه پرهیز کنند تا درویشان به جمعیت خاطر بر محصول آن اراضی آن اوقاف بطنا بعد بطن و قرنا بعد قرن الی ما تناسلوا و تولدوا قابض بوده و بمصارف خود نموده به دعاگوی مدام دولت پادشاه عهد و سلاطین وقت مشغول باشند.

تحریرا فی التاریخ تاسع عشرین ربیع الاول سنه ۹۷ سبع و تسعین و سبع مأة

English Translation of the Waqf-nama of Khanqah Maulla

The Endowment deed of Hazrat Khanqah Maulla
under the signature and seal of
Hazrat-Mir Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani,
may God sanctify his holy sepulchre!

In the name of Allah, Ar-Rahman, the merciful! Praise to Allah alone Who blessed His pious slaves and salutations to the chief of the Prophet, his progeny and godly companions!

The humble, meak, full of sins and transgressions Muhammad, son of Mir Saiyid Ali al-Hamadani, may god bless him! Says.

Since my respected father removed the rust of heresy and heathenism with the polish of guidance and right path from the hearts of the residents of Kashmir and called this land the pattern of paradise and converted the classes and masses, officers of the government and high and low, into Islam, and with the support and help of godly king Sultan Qutb-ud-din—may god lighten his tomb—demolished his own dwelling at village Alauddinpur and laid the foundation of Khanqah Maulla. The aforesaid sultan with a sincere and pure heart said mornings and evenings five times prayers at this noble edifice and pleasant spot. Land, measuring 308 yards in length between Doyarbal (two bathing ghats) and 1207 yards wide from the bank of river Behat (Jehlam) to the market, was endowed for the courtyard and plinth of Khanqah Maulla. Besides, another plot 308 yards in length on the east side and 110 yards in width was given for the assembly of men and animals. Till the arrival of this humble, poor person (Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani) it had no boundary wall. When this humble person with a body of Saiyids arrived in Kashmir during the reign of the refuge of the faithful king, Sultan Sikandar Shah, son of Sultan Qutb-ud-din, may his rule abide, at the instance and desire of the aforesaid sultan, this group of the faithful with their followers was brought to this

place with due honours. The sultan endowed the old Khanqah which was built by my father at the instance of the saintly grandfather and also village Vichi in pargana Shodra and village Nonawani in pargana Martand and the village of Tral in pargana Olar, for residents and servants of the Khanqah, so that they may live in peace and security and in piety and good will, and the poor, the traveller, the pious, the godly and truthful may also benefit by this benevolent tree, and the residents of this locality may also be worthy of abiding by God, and freed from anxiety with single-mindedness, devote themselves to the prayers and recitations taught by the holy father, and offer in good time prayer for the ruling monarch.

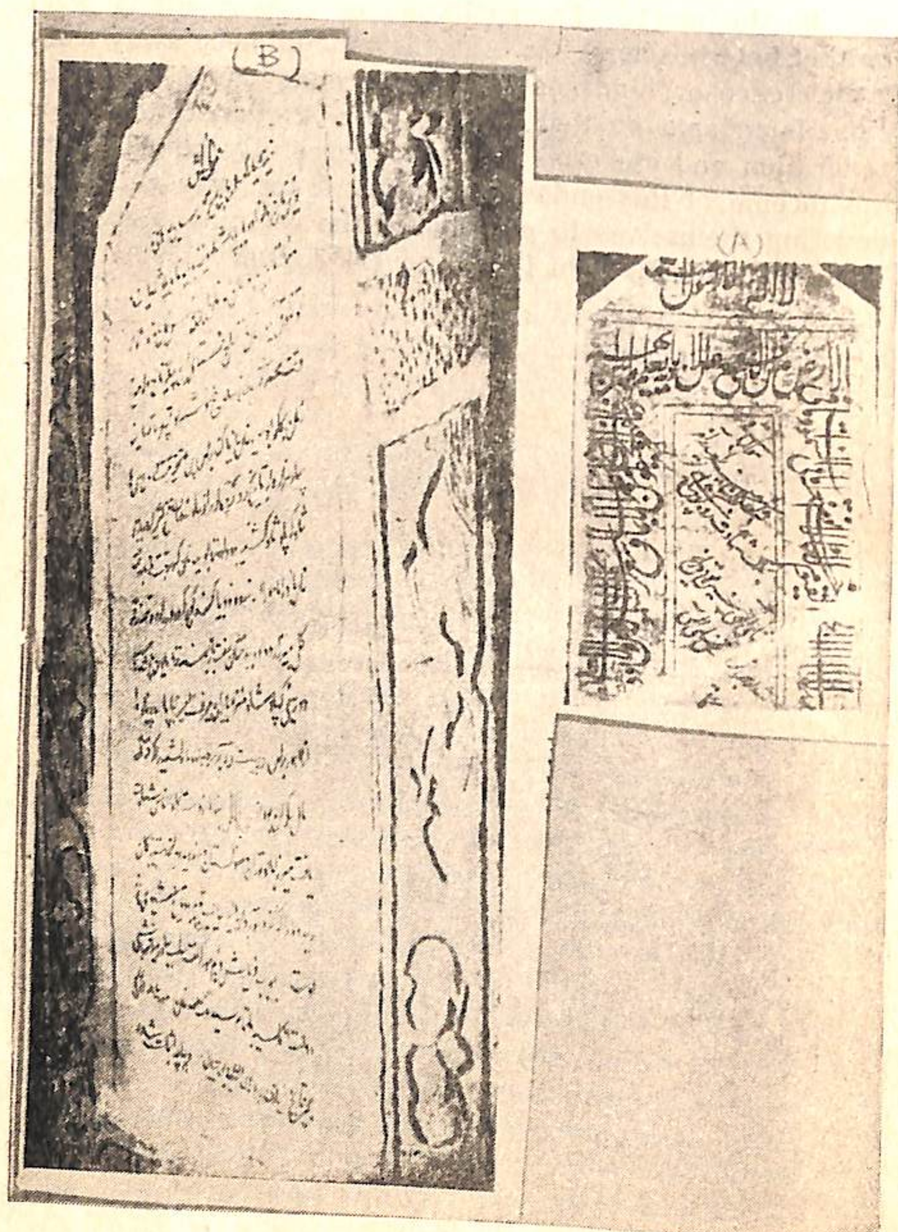
The above edifice and the aforesaid villages have been placed under the management and control of the good, noble, elderly brother, Maulana Muhammad Said, may god give him long life—so that he may live at this edifice, take care of the condition and conduct of its residents and sojourners and be a servant of the elders, a brother of the humble and a father of the orphans, and control, guard, scrutinise and look after the income of the (attached) villages and carry on prayers and recitations. In spare time and when possible, he is not debarred from taking up remuneratory business. He should not entrust the management to worldly spendthrift and greedy men so that it may not be polluted by condemnable and disgusting people who seek the unwanted and shun the desirable and do not give the due to the deserving. And out of the aforesaid villages he should take for his own expenses one thousand *kharwars* of *shali* and ten thousand *jitals*. Further, whatever is written in the *firmans* and *parwanas* of the king should be carried out and the pious needs of the residents attended to. If, God forbid, an unbecoming act is committed by any *darwesh*, he may be forgiven once or twice but if he is found to commit such an act the third time, he should be reprimanded and even turned out of the Khanqah. He should supply food to the needy twice daily. He should not discriminate between the rich and the poor, the wealthy and

the wealthless, the high and low, the young and old; nor serve more and better food to the elders (superior in status) and less and poor food to the inferiors (humble people). He should provide clothes to the naked and food to the hungry, so that he is not taken to task by Allah (God). For the salt of the kitchen of the Khanqah 200 *mardalwani* (?) have also been endowed which too should be under the control and scrutiny of the Maulana. And I have appointed Malik Devi Ganai, who is competent and well versed to assist Maulana Said, in the details and accounts of the *waqf*. If any unfortunate worker of the *waqf* is found greedy or commits any excesses, Malik Devi Ganai may dismiss him. And if Maulana Said does not give the dues to the deserving and shows any slackness, he should be privately and publicly admonished so that he may not repeat the slackness.

In short, the object of writing all these conditions and details and instructions is to show that the world and its pleasures are like passing winds wherein the real object and true aim are never realised without total good, and the total good is that all the details of the good are observed. And one of the good acts is charitable endowments, which are the props and foundation of the organisation of Islam and the Muslims, and the means of maintenance of the poor and orphans. So obviously non-interference with the endowment is the most important policy of the state and its officers and leaving them alone is the greatest good. So this *will* (appeal) is addressed to all the Muslims that they should act upon whatever is written in this endowment deed. And none should lay violent hands on the income of this Khanqah Hamadania and whatever is written in this document should not be altered or changed and the divine injunction 'whosoever changes anything after what he has heard, the sin of it is on the man who has altered' should be kept as an ideal and this running charity should not be involved in satanic greed or for selfish purposes, and that all concerned should keep before their mind the verse that those who have altered will soon see its consequences.

Because taking away a small quantity out of charity is a great mischief. In particular, when the charity is large what will be the result. For spoliation of endowment is good neither here nor hereafter. And they should keep away from interference or hindrances with the endowment of Khanqah Hamadania so that the *darweshes*, generation after generation and afe after age, may peacefully benefit from the income of this endowment using it for ever and anon devoting themselves to prayers for the reigning monarchs. Written on the 29 Rabi I 797 A.H. (11 January 1396).

APPENDIX E: Inscriptions on the Tomb of Mirza Haidar Dughlat



(Appendix E Continued)

In the Mazari Salatin (Royal Cemetery of the Sultans of Kashmir) there are two extant inscriptions on the life of Mirza Haidar Dughlat. One is cut on a small but exceedingly worn-out white marble stone, while the other is inscribed on a polished black stone which is large and looks fresh, though broken at the edges. On its fringes is cut the *Kalima* and on the main surface is cut in Persian *nastaliq* the following verse which gives the year of the death of Mirza Haidar Dughlat, being obtained from the chronogram *Qaza-i-Illahi*:

شهه گورگان میرزا حیدر آخر　بملک شهادت زده کوس شاهی

قضای الهی چنین بود تاریخ　شده بهر وصلش قضای الهی

But the inscription does not give any clue to its sculptor, the person who had ordered to cut it, or the year when it was cut. We may, however, safely conclude from indirect evidences that it appears to be as old as the reign of emperor Jahangir, if not older. Because in the first instance, the chronogram *Qazi-i-Illahi* is mentioned by the author of the *Baharistan-i-Shahi,* who was a contemporary of Jahangir. We also come across a reproduction of the inscription in the *Waqiat-i-Kashmir,* written by Muhammad Azam in 1730. Thirdly, no Muslim writer of Kashmir after Jahangir has expressed any appreciation of the work of Mirza Haidar in Kashmir.

The second inscription was put up by Mir Izzat Ullah Mughal by order of Mr. William Moorcroft whom he guided in 1822-23 on his ill-fated, Central Asian mission to buy Bukhara horses. It was put up on 23 February 1823. The inscription gives a brief account of the life of Mirza Haidar Dughlat, and the year of his death.

Baron von Hugel, German traveller and geographer, who visited Kashmir in 1835, appears to have paid a hasty visit

to this cemetery. He saw this inscription, and appears to have read it incorrectly, for he writes, 'I was told by a *mullah* that Moorcroft lay buried here, but after long search I came to a stately marble slab with a Persian inscription stating that the servant of that unfortunate traveller lay beneath' (Hugel, *Travels, op. cit.*, p. 119).

On the other hand, the description of G. T. Vigne, another famous traveller and geographer, who stayed in Kashmir during 1834-38 and saw this inscription, is correct. He states, 'In this burying-ground is an inscription to the memory of Mirza Haidar who invaded Kashmir in the reign of emperor Humayun and after several adventures made himself master of the valley and reigned here for ten years. It is recorded on the same stone that Mr. Moorcroft caused the inscription to be cut in order, I should imagine, to inform the world that Kashmir had been conquered and could again be invaded by cavalry from Yarkand *via* Ladakh' (Vigne, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 79). Vigne, ignorant of Kashmir history, seems to have based his conclusion on the solitary event—the invasion of the valley by the Kashgharis under Mirza Haidar. What in fact appears to be the truth is that though apparently Moorcroft wanted to show the military use and hardihood of Central Asian horses which he had gone out to buy, really he had gone to study the position of Russia in Central Asia. May be he was also anxious to commemorate his visit to Kashmir.

APPENDIX F: *Baharistan-i-Shahi* on the Death of Yaqub Shah

F

APPENDIX F

REGARDING THE DEATH OF

YAQUB SHAH CHAK THE AUTHOR OF THE BAHARISTAN

SHAHI WRITERS AS FOLLOWS:

مدت یکسال و کسری [بعد وفات یوسف شاه] گذشت که پادشاه خلایق پناه راجه مانسنگه را بعزمت
حضور طلب فرمود - راجه مذکور عزم دربار کرد مرجع الی روزگارات مصمم نمود - دولفز یزید که داغ خدمتگاری
یوسف شاه بر روی سیاه خویش داشتند، باهم اتفاق نموده بعرض راجه معروض داشتند که یعقوب شاه را
درین حدود باختیار خود گذاشتن از قفس مرغ از دام واکردن است - اقلاً او را محبوس باید فرمود .....
لاجرم راجه متوهم شده بطریق نظربندی یعقوب شاه را در قلعه رهتاس واگذاشته خود بدرگاه خلایق پناه شد -
بعد از چند گاه موجب رخصت حضرت خلافت پناه عنان چون لطف قلعه رهتاس حکومت داشت همان
دولفز یزید مصلحت و تدبیر هلاکت او [یعقوب شاه] به قاسم خان که به فرزندی یوسف شاه در افواه اشتهار
پذیرفته بود و مدت یکسال به شومی اعمال خویش در حبس محبوس بود و راجه مانسنگه در آن حین شفیع او شده
او را از آن حبس برآورده درمیان آوردند - قاسم خان بواسطه بدنهادی و خباثت جبلی خود منتهز این
معنی شده منتظر فرصت وقت بود - آخر چون راجه در رهتاس رسید و این دولفز یزید همراه عساکر در آنجا بود
آمدند، یعقوب شاه جهت تماشای و سیر جاگیر خویش به شهر بهیره از خدمت راجه التماس رخصت نموده
مرخص شد و در خانهٔ قاسم خان مذکور جهت وداع تشریف فرمود - آن مرد قصاب کیش هلاکت آن نیک اندیش
حلال دانسته فرصت وقت غنیمت شمرده چند بیره پان که به صلاح آن بدکیشان، در یکی زهر هلاهل حالتش
تعبیه کرده بود، برسم حساد مردم آن دیار ابلهانه بدل پیشی آورده همان پان زهرآلود بدست نامبارک خود
بطور میزبانی راست کرده به یعقوب شاه خورانید - یعقوب شاه از صحبت آن مرد ناآگاه وداع نموده
بجای خویش وداع نمود - اثر سم در بدن خود معاینه و مشاهده نمود - بعد از چند روز که به شهر بهیره
رسید رنگ و روی ایشان به کبودی سبزی متبدل گشت و بتاریخ هشتم ماه محرم سنه یکهزار و یک [۱۰۰۱] وداع
این عالم فانی نمود - - - . بعد از آن میرسید ابوالمعالی که نسبت خویشی بایشان داشته نعش او را برداشته
در جوار پدر بزرگوارش [یوسف شاه] به سنگ برد = [از بهارستان شاهی نسخه انڈیا آفس لائبریری لندن
صفحه ۲۰۰ تا ۲۰۲]

APPENDIX G: *Farman* of Emperor Shahjahan

G

APPENDIX G.

COPY OF THE
FARMAN OF EMPEROR SHAH JAHAN ON THE
GATE OF JAMA MASJID, SRINAGAR, PROHIBITING LEVY OF NEW
AND BURDENSOME TAXES BY RULERS OF KASHMIR.

الله اکبر

شاهجهان بادشاه غازی

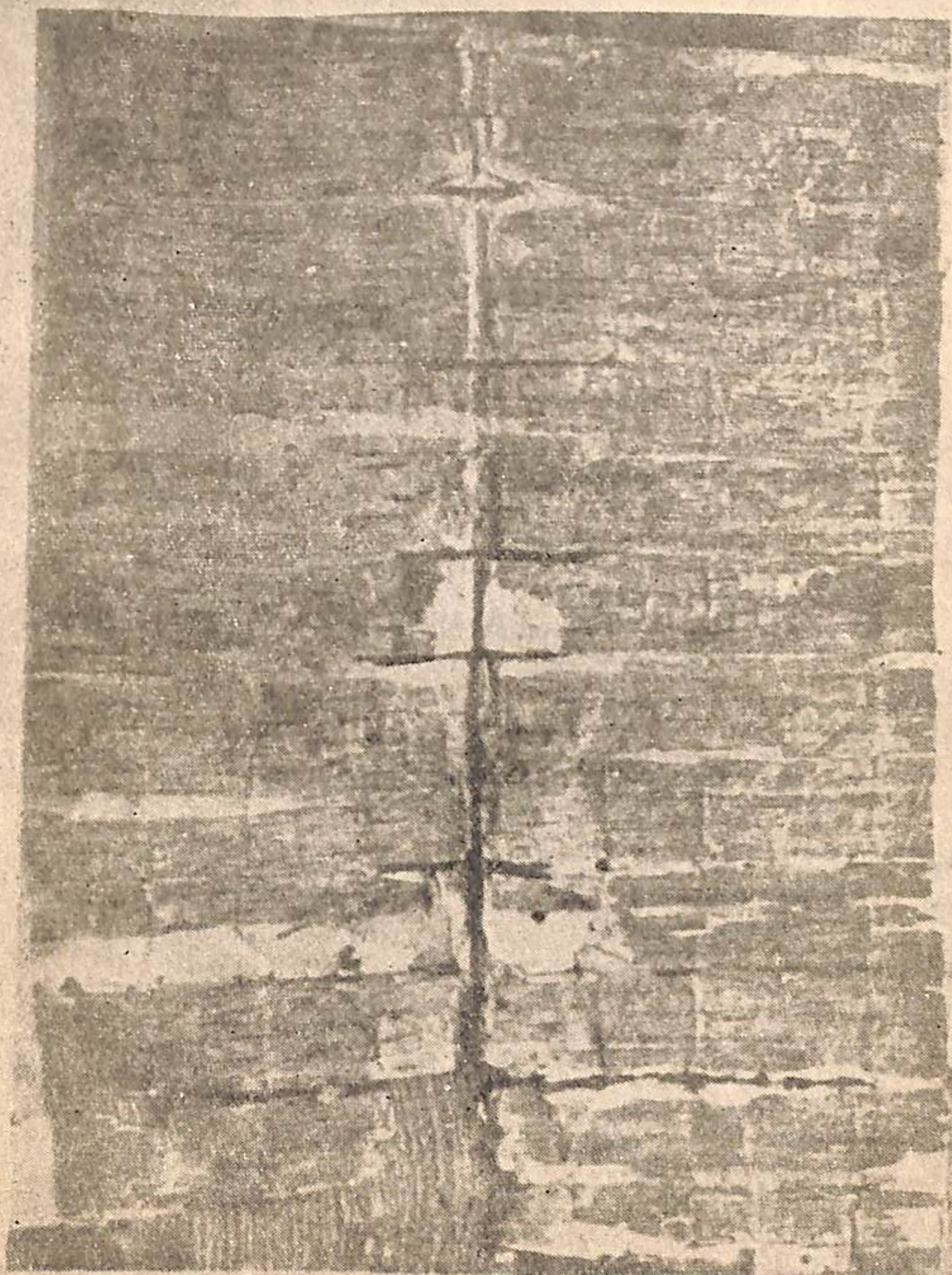
نقل فرمان سعادت نشان حضرت شهنشاه جنت مکانی، صاحب قران ثانی که بتاریخ هشتم اسفندارمذ [redacted] ماه الهی حسب الالتماس
کمترین خانزادان احسن الله المخاطب بظفرخان درباب برطرف نمودن بدعت های که در زمان صوبه داران سابق در
بلده و ولایت دلپذیر کشمیر شده بود و باعث خرابی رعایا و سکنه این دیار شرف ورود یافته

فرمان

چون همگی همت والانهمت مصروف و معطوف بر رفاهیت خلق است بنابرین لبعضی امور که در خطه دلپذیر کشمیر باعث آزار
سکنه و مزید می شد، حکم فرمودیم که برطرف باشند - از آنجمله آن مقدمات یکی آنست که وقت چیدن زعفران مردم را به عنف
بیگار میکرده زعفران بچینند و تلیلی نمک بعنت اجره آن بآن مردم می دادند - و از این جهت بآن جماعه آزار بسیار میرسید -
حکم فرمودیم که تکلیف چیدن زعفران اصلا کسی نکنند و آنچه تعلق بخالصه شریفه داشته باشد مزدوران را راضی ساخته اجره
واقعی بدهند - و آنچه تعلق به جاگیردار داشته باشد کل زعفران حواله جاگیردار نمایند تا بهر طریقی که خواهند بچینند -
(۲) مقدمه دیگر آنست که در زمان لبعضی از صاحب صوبه های کشمیر برسر خروار شالی دو دام بعلت هیزم میگرفته اند - در عمل اعتقاد خان
چهار دام بآن علت برسر خروار گرفته میشد - چون ازین جهت آزار بسیار نیز برعایا میرسید حکم فرمودیم که بالکل رعایا
را از طلب این وجه معاف دارند - و بعلت هیزم هیچ چیز نگیرند -
(۳) وجه دیگر آنست که دهی که جمع آن زیاده از چهارصد خروار شالی بوده باشد از آن ده دو گوسفند حکام آنجا برسال میگرفته اند
و اعتقاد خان در ایام صاحب صوبگی خود بجای گوسفند بر سر هر گوسفند شصت و شش دام میگرفتند - چون ازین جهت نیز
برعایا آزار تمام میرسید بالکلیه حکم فرمودیم که برطرف باشد، نه گوسفند بگیرند و نه نقد - به این علت رعایا را از گرفتن معاف دارند -
(۴) دیگر اعتقاد خان در ایام صاحب صوبگی خود سراری نموده برسر هر ملاحی خواه پیر خواه خورد سال، هفتاد و پنج دام میگرفت -
معمول قدیم آن بوده که برسر جوان شصت دام، بر سر پیر دوازده دام و بر سر خورد سال سی و شش دام میگرفته اند - حکم فرمودیم که
دستور سابق را معمول داشته بدعتیکه اعتقاد خان کرده برطرف دانند و حقیقتهای آن عمل نکنند -
(۵) مقدمه دیگر آنست که صاحب صوبه در وقت میوه در هر باغ و در هر باغیچه که میوه خوبی که گمان داشته از کسان خود را
تعین نموده اند که آن میوه را متصرف شوند - ازین جهت آزار بسیار بآن جماعه میرسید - چنانچه اکثر آن مردم
درختهای میوه را دور ساخته اند - حکم فرمودیم که هیچ صاحب صوبه قرق میوه باغ و باغیچه کسی نکند -
می باید که حکام کرام و دیوانیان کفایت فرجام و عمال حال و استقبال صوبه کشمیر این احکام جهانمطاع
را مستمر و ابدی دانند - تغیر و تبدیل بقواعد آن راه ندهند - هرکسیکه تغیر و تبدیل را راه دهد بلعنت خدا و
بغضب پادشاهی گرفتار خواهد شد - تحریر فی تاریخ ۲۶ آذر ماه الهی -

APPENDIX H

Wasiyyat-nama of Janab Makhdum Shaikh Hamza



APPENDIX — Ha

اصل وصیت نامه

یا [illegible] ثانی

وصیت نامه جناب مخدومی و سیدی (مولانا) شیخ حمزه

بیان آنکه از روی وصیت جناب مخدومی و سیدی مولانا شیخ مخدوم حمزه ..... لبشری مذکور
و بدلیل مدرک مطلق مذکور ..... نایب خودش ساخت علی‌جی اشری ، علی رینه مذکور
و حاجو اشری وکیل ... بعد از ثبوت الوکالة کما یحج القانون والشرع حاضر آمدند ..
از محکمه شرعیه علیه و قضاة .... بر ایشان روشن است ... باخودش ظاهر آورند
علی محمد که اشیاء و املاک و مقالات که بقلم کشمیری نوشته شده است، ترکهٔ شیخ مذکور است
و بدست این محمد بوده است، و برا واجب است که برمن تسلیم کند. چون خواست دعوی بر
مدعاعلیه مذکور بدا پرسیده شد. وی بر سبیل دفع گفت ترکهٔ شیخ ..
... بود در حوالهٔ ... جناب خودش ساخت و چو از المعروفات الشرعیه
اشیا .... مقالات مذکور مرا هبه کرده داده است ومن ... قبول نمودم
آن قبولاً و صحیحاً و قبضاً و شرعاً ، و خط هبه موجود و این در قلم کشمیری
= حاضر آمدند ، میر و خواجه حسن طالب علم و خواجه حسن قاری و ملا حسن العزیزی
... از اسباب هبه مذکور ما حضر سلطان در میان شدند و صلح را اختیار نمودند
... بدین که علی رینه مذکور و حاجو اشری وکیل مذکور قبول کردند ، مسلم داشتند
هبه مذکور را که شیخ مذکور بر علی مذکور داشتند و بول

٧٥٠٠٠

هفتاد و پنج هزار پول سیاه کپکی ... ١٠٠٠٠ بر دو ده هزار پول می شد - و آمده اند

که منفعت مرا دعوت بر علی محمد (دینی) مذکور از مهر ترکه مذکوره - بعد از آن الموجوه الدعاوی

و سبب آن است سیات ... نه در قلیل و نه در کثیر ... نه در پول و نه در نقود ...

صلح و ابرام و لله دعوی مذکور را بدل مذکور قبولاً صحیحاً شرعاً علی زینه و حاجوارثی

مذکوران قبض نمودند بدل مذکور را قبضاً ... - و کان ذالک واصلح و الابرار ..

فی تاریخ ... شهر جمادی الاول ٩٨٣ هجری (نهصد و هشتاد و چهار)

حضار مجلس و مسخط شده

داؤد دوری   حضرت خواجه حاجی

حضرت خواجه عبدالعزیز   محمد میر   ملا دولت محمد

حضرت میر سید ابوالقاسم   ملا داؤد

مشهور وکالت مذکور

شنکر نانکداس   نایک ساکن قریه شنکر پوره

میر میر عبدالعزیز - ملا علی ... - داؤد خاکی - میر سید ابوالقاسم

[illegible]

APPENDIX K

Translation of Marriage-Contract Deed of Kashmiri Pandits
(Specimen of Shahjahan's time)

In the victorious reign of the most devout worshipper of the Primeval Divinity, the most respected, supreme ruler, overlord of kings, illustrious among emperors, protector of his subjects, the glorious Shahjahan—in the year so and so, in the month so and so, on the date so and so, on the day so and so, this marriage-deed is executed in village Gunda district Mannaka (?) between so and so Bhatta, son of so and so Bhatta (on the one side) and so and so Pandit of village Chandraka, district Nagrama (on the other), under these provisions: (1) that my daughter, who is a virgin named so and so, is given in marriage by the religious law pertaining to the Brahmans, in the presence of the gods Soma, Surya and Agni as witnesses, to your son named Pandit so and so; (2) that the bride's side will provide (a) one thousand dishes (of cooked rice and meat) to the guests as promised by the cook, (b) one full-dress of cotton cloth for the bridegroom, (c) one garment for the bridegroom's father, (d) one single-bhari turban for 'Potmaharja', (e) one umbrella, one garment for the foster-father, and (f) one cow, two heifers, one bronze dish, one vessel, one wooden sandal with straps (*pushtakhas*), ten thousand *dinaras*, one walnut tree and two *prasthas* of land. This is to be given by me (the father of the bride) as dowry and is accepted by you, the father of the bridegroom. From the bridegroom's side will be given (to the bride) twenty thousand *dinaras* according to the Kashmiri system, one *shri-angaka*, one woollen-garment (*phiran*), one *shri-davanika*, one *padukavartika*, one silver ring, one blanket (or shawl) and one toilet box. All this is to be given by you (the bridegroom's party) as is usual with the Kashmiris and I accept it. Witness Almighty.

(For original text in Sanskrit see *Lokaprakasa*, Book II, and *Indische Studien*, XVIII, p. 378)

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Glossary

Of Kashmiri (K), Sanskrit (S), Persian (P) and Arabic (A) words and idioms

azan (A), call for summoning to prayers
bandpathr (K), Kashmiri theatrical performance
banduqkhar (K), gun-maker
Basant (S), Hindu spring festival
Basantpanchami (S), Hindu festival
begar (P), forced labour
Behat (P), contraction of 'Vyath' (K) and 'Vitasta' (S), or Jehlam river
chauth (Hindi-Marathi), an assessment equal to one-fourth of the original standard assessment, or generally to one-fourth of the actual government collections demanded by the Marathas from the Muhammadan and Hindu chiefs of India
dam (P), copper coin; in emperor Akbar's time forty *dams* were equivalent to one rupee
damdari (P), a branch of revenue arising from bird-catchers, players and musicians
darah (P), a pass, a defile
dastar (P), a turban
dewan (P), collector of the public revenues of province or district
dinar (S), *dinnara* (S) and *dyar* (K), i.e., coined money or cash; there were dinnaras of gold, silver and copper current in early middle ages in Kashmir, although copper currency was common
dranga (S), a watch-station established near mountain passes for the double purpose of guarding the approaches to the valley and of collecting customs revenue; we have the modern village of Drang in Biru Pargana, another near Hayhom
Dvara (S), a gate, a mountain pass, a watch-station
dvaradipa (S), 'lord of the gate', a commander of frontier passes
dvarapti (S), 'lord of the gate', a commander of frontier passes
ganjafa (P), cards
gama-hakhur (K), village bull, term of ridicule for a rustic, uncouth villager
ghazi (A), a gallant soldier, especially combating with infidels
hamam (A), warm bath
haram (A), women's apartment of Muslims
Hijri (A), the *Hijri* is the era universally used in all Muhammadan countries and by all Muhammadan chroniclers. '*Hijri*' signifies the 'flight', that is, of Prophet Muhammad from Mecca to Medina. The *Hijri* era is counted from Friday, the 16 July 622 A.D.

hundi (H), *hundika* (S), a bill of exchange, a letter of credit

Id (A), Muslim festival observed twice in a year at *Id-uz-zuha* or festival of sacrifices, and at *Id-ul-fitr*, festival of breaking the fast (Ramazan)

idgah (P), a place enclosed by a wall where the Muslims assemble to offer Id prayers. It is usually situated on the outskirts of a town or village

ittihad (A), union; communal harmony and amity

izar (P), trousers

jashn (P), a social entertainment, a convivial party

kalamdan (P), a pen case

kangar (K), *Kasthangarika* (S), a portable brazier

Karewar (P), alluvial or barren plateau

kar-i-kalamdani (P), art of making pen-cases, trays, boxes, etc. of papier-mache

kar-i-munaksha (P), art of making painted wares of papier-mache

karkun (P and K), an assistant or manager in financial and revenue collections; in Kashmir they were Pandits who performed these jobs under the Muslim government

Kartal (Turkish ?), a narrow dangerous mountain pass or defile

Khalifa (A), the successor to sovereign power, especially a deputy, applied to the successors of Prophet Muhammad

Khanqah (P), a monastery, a place where religious mendicants of Islam temporarily reside

kharwar (P), *khari* (S) and *khar* (K), literally 'khar-bar' or ass's load; it weighs two maunds corresponding to 177 $\frac{129}{175}$ lbs. The *khar* is divided into 16 *traks*, the *trak* again into 6 *seers*. It has remained since ancient times to the present day the standard of weight in Kashmir

khilaat (A), a robe of honour

khirqa (A), a garment

Khutba (A), a public prayer or discourse pronounced in the mosques at the Friday service, in which the ruling chief is prayed for

Kotal (Turkish ?), a dangerous mountain pass or defile

kurtah (P), a shirt, a tunic, jacket, waist-coat

Lagnachirika (S), *lagnachir* (K), marriage-contract deed (among Kashmiri Pandits)

langar-khana (P), a public charity kitchen

Maaj Kashir (K), 'Mother Kashmir' or 'Our Kashmir', an expression of intense patriotism

mahai (A), a guide, the twelfth and last of the *imams* (successors) of Hazrat Ali, whom the Shia Muslims believe to be still alive

mahaldar (A), a collector of octroi and custom

Malamasa (S), an intercalary month, in which no religious ceremonies should be performed. *Malamasis* are Kashmiri Pandits who observe the first *Shivaratri* and *Shradhas* after every 2½ years while *Banamasis* observe the other

Maliks (P), hereditary feudal chiefs who performed the duties of collecting government revenue and guarding the passes and frontier routes of Kashmir and enjoyed certain privileges in return for these duties
Malik-ut-tujar (P), chief merchant, chairman of merchants' guild
mallah (K), a grave digger
man (A), a weight of 40 seers
mandalesa (S), a provincial governor
mansab (A), office of power and dignity
mansabdar (P), holder of an office of power and dignity
margaptai (S), lord of the passes (modern Malik)
margesa (S), lord of the passes (modern Malik)
masjid (A), a mosque, or place of worship for Muslims
matti (H), 'maat' (K), an earthen jar
maulavi (A), a doctor of Muhammadan law
mufti (A), an expounder of the Muhammadan law
Muharram (A), name of the first month of Muhammadan year in which it was held unlawful to make war. Among the Shias this month is held in peculiar veneration as being the month in which Hasan and Husain, the sons of Hazrat Ali, were killed
muharr-i-adalat (P), a court superintendent
nagradhikrta (S), chief administrative officer of the city of Srinagar
naib subahdar (naib subah) (P), deputy governor
namaz (P), prayer; there are five occasions for a Muslim to offer prayers in a day. They are *nimaz-i-bamdad* (morning prayers), *nimaz-i-pesheen* (noon prayers), *nimaz-i-digar* (afternoon prayers), *nimaz-i-sham* (evening prayers) and *nimaz-i-khuptan* (prayers before going to bed)
narah-lul (K), indigenous method of drying *shali* (paddy) in winter. The apparatus was first introduced in Kashmir by Mirza Haidar Dughlat
nard (P), the game of dice
nauroz (P), new-year day of Kashmiri Muslims
nikah (A), a marriage contract
pairahan (P), a loose garment
pardah (P), a veil
patta (K), a measure or length
pattu (K), coarse wool
patwari (Hindustani), *gramakayestha* or *gramadivira* (S), the village accountant who keeps the papers relating to the area of the holdings of the villagers, their produce, cultivation, changes and their revenue assessments, past and present
peshkar (P), an official dealing with revenue and custom affairs, a personal assistant
phiran (K), long loose garment reaching the ankles
pir (P), a spiritual guide
prayaga (S), the confluence of two rivers
prayopavesa (S), solemn fast, hunger-strike
pulharu (K), straw shoes

Qanungo (P), an officer in each district acquainted with the custom and the nature of the tenures of land, a legal remembrancer

rabi (P), spring, technically crops harvested in spring

rahdari (P), transit duties; technically passport for free travel, control over unauthorised immigration and emigration

rasum (P), perquisites charged by village officers in addition to state dues, as their own share

rawaj (K), local traditions and customs, *riwaj* (A)

Sahibkar (P), chief secretary

Saka (S), *Sakasamvat*, Hindu era reckoned from the reign of king *Salivahana*, commencing in 79th year of the Christian era

sati (S), a Hindu widow who burnt herself on the pyre of her husband

shalbaf (P), a shawl weaver

shali (K), paddy, unhusked rice

shalwar (P), trousers

Shivaratri (S), Hindu festival falling on Phalguna *vadi* 13

shran kutt (K), *saritsnanagrha* (S), wooden bathing—cells placed on rafts moored on the ghats of the Jehlam river and the canals. They are met with today also although they are disappearing from the Jehlam river

sikkah (A), a stamped coin

sipahsalar (P), chief commander of troops

somavar (K), originally Russian, a tea urn

subahdar (P), provincial governor

Sulah Kul (P), title given to rulers who are advocates of the principle of universal toleration

tahsildar (P), revenue and judicial chief of a district

tika (Hindustani), *tilaka* (S) and *tok* (K); religious mark on the forehead of the Hindus

trak (K), a measure of weight equal to six Kashmiri *seers*

tumbaknar (K), a Kashmiri tabla

vakil (A), agent, ambassador

Visaya (S), modern *pargana*

Wadar = *Udar* (K), an alluvial or dry plateau

wan-wun (K), Kashmiri singing in chorus usually with *tumbaknaris*

Zakat (A), *Zagat* (K); contribution of a portion of property, obligatory on every Muhammadan possessed of capital. It is received by the *imam* and is payable by him to the poor and needy; the portion is a tenth but may be increased to any amount according to the piety of an individual

Ziarat (P), pilgrimage, really place of devotion

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